Stability of citations of nomenclatural authorities and the correct date for new taxa published in *The Fishes of Zanzibar* (Playfair & Günther, 1867 [1866]); with discoveries of a separate volume of uncoloured plates and an unpublished album of photographs of some of the specimens described

R. B. Williams

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ABSTRACT: *The Fishes of Zanzibar: Acanthopterygii, Pharyngognathi, etc.*, dated 1866 but published in 1867, was authored by R. Lambert Playfair (the Acanthopterygii) and Albert C. L. G. Günther (the Pharyngognathi, etc.). The systematic descriptions include 43 new taxa, the authorities for which are explicitly given by the authors as either Playfair or Günther, never as Playfair & Günther. Citation of those individual authorities, with an assumed, though incorrect, publication date of 1866 complied with the authors' stipulation for a century, until a facsimile reprint was published in 1971. In an introductory essay therein, George Sprague Myers recommended citing the authorities of all included new taxa as "Playfair & Günther", which since the 1980s resulted in inconsistencies in the taxonomic literature. More recently, many systematic ichthyologists have reverted to citing the authors and the correct date of new taxa published in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, thus: "Playfair [or] Günther *in* Playfair & Günther 1867", although few have discussed their reasons. The case for single or joint authorship by Playfair and Günther is therefore discussed herein, and evidence is presented for the publication of their book in 1867, but no later than 11 April. A complete list of the explicit authorities for all the new taxa is also provided. Further bibliographical and historical information includes: 1) the identification of Joseph Smit (1836–1929) as the lithographer erroneously named "G. Smit" on three plates; 2) an analytical bibliographical description of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*; 3) elucidation of the publishing history of the work, with particular reference to delays in publication and binding variants; 4) the discovery of a hitherto unknown separate volume in paper-covered boards dated 1867, containing the 21 plates, but all uncoloured and without text; 5) the discovery of an album of photographs of many of the species described in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, in which the code-numbers of specimens referred to are almost perfectly correlated with those in the book, confirming the relation of the photographs to the published morphological descriptions; 6) the discovery of Playfair's personal annotated copy of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, which reveals his later changes of opinion about the true identities of certain species.

KEYWORDS: Authorities, bibliographical description, Bombay Government, fishes, correct publication date, photographs of specimens, G. H. Ford, A. C. L. G. Günther, G. S. Myers, R. L. Playfair, J. Smit, J. Van Voorst, Zanzibar.

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THE

FISHES OF ZANZIBAR

ACANTHOPTERYGII

BY

LIEUT. COLONEL R. LAMBERT PLAYFAIR,

HER MAJESTY'S POLITICAL AGENT AND CONSUL AT ZANZIBAR;

PHARYNGOGNATHI ETC.

BY

ALBERT C. L. G. GÜNTHER, M.A., Ph.D., M.D.

LONDON:

JOHN VAN VOORST, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXVI.

Figure 1. Title-page of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* showing the correct full title and John Van Voorst's publisher's imprint, incorrectly dated 1866. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

INTRODUCTION

The Fishes of Zanzibar, Acanthopterygii, Pharyngognathi, etc. (Figure 1) was authored by Robert Lambert Playfair (1828–1899)[1] and Albert Carl Ludwig Gotthilf Günther (1830–1914)[2] (see portraits in Figures 2 and 3, at about the time their book was published). Authorities for the included new taxa and their date of publication, having been stable for more than a century, became confused during the 1980s, and even in the last fifteen years may still be inconsistent. To my knowledge, no bibliographical description or publishing history of the book has ever been attempted. It is emphasized that this study addresses matters of bibliographical and historical, not systematic, interest, and is focused on the authorship and date of the new taxa in the original publication of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, so there is no necessity to address synonymy or any other aspects of nomenclatural validity. During research to address those issues, a separate volume of uncoloured plates and an unpublished photograph album of specimens described in the original book have been discovered; both are also critically examined herein.

NOMENCLATURAL AUTHORITIES

In co-authored systematic publications, the names of proposed new taxa are usually attributed to all of the contributing authors, unless otherwise evidenced. Usually, this evidence takes the form of the name of the authority being indicated with the introduction of the new name. However, with regard to *The Fishes of Zanzibar* (Playfair & Günther, 1867 [1866]), if this usual practice were to be adopted, the authorities of the 42 "sp. n." and the single "g. n." in the systematic descriptions would be presented as "Playfair and Günther". Such an assumption would negate the intention of the authors made clear in their preface. However, in the systematic part of the work (pp. 1–146), no authorities were provided for the new names proposed. Instead, the necessary citations were perversely provided in a preceding preliminary "List of fishes observed on the east coast of Africa" (pp. vii–xiv), where unfortunately they may be easily overlooked (See below, Citation Stability).

Even in that list, no explicit guidance is provided on determining authorship, which must be deduced indirectly. Whilst some taxa are marked by an asterisk, the significance is not explained anywhere in the whole volume, but the asterisked names, which may be observed to tally with the 43 new taxa described in the systematic part, are each followed by a single authority, either "Playfair" or "Günther", though never "Playfair and Günther". Unfortunately, the scientific names, though indexed (pp. 147–153) to the arabic page numbers in the systematic part, are not indexed to the roman page numbers in the preliminary list where the stipulated authorities are provided. Furthermore, some species known outside Zanzibar are included in the preliminary list, but being without arabic page numbers, they do not appear in the general index. This latter point was made long ago by Smith (1953), who commented that "Playfair and Günther's 'Fishes of Zanzibar', 1866, bears a somewhat misleading title, for some of the species included come from places other than Zanzibar, some quite distant".[3]

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[1] See Carlyle and Milne (2004), although *The Fishes of Zanzibar* is not mentioned.

[2] See England (2004), although *The Fishes of Zanzibar* is not mentioned.

[3] Perhaps it was a similar thought that induced Dean (1917: 271) to expand the title of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* thus: "The Fishes of Zanzibar, with a list of the fishes of the whole east coast of Africa". Although no

Figure 2. Robert Lambert Playfair (1828–1899) in 1865. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library [ID ALB-8-16].

Figure 3. Albert Carl Ludwig Gotthilf Günther (1830–1914), *ca* 1867. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums [ms37103/3/14r].

Nevertheless, clarifying the situation to some extent, Playfair and Günther explained in the preface (p. v) that: "We have thought it advisable that there should be only one authority for new species, on which account each of the authors has attached his name to a moiety of the work; but it must not be imagined that we have worked otherwise than jointly and continuously throughout". Since the preface of the work is explicitly by "The Authors", it is clearly understandable that while general statements reflect the opinions of both, that does not necessarily include their explicit statement of individual responsibility for each name.

Be that as it may, the authors did not refer readers to the general list of African east-coast fishes in the preliminary pages where the authorities of the new taxa are explicitly indicated, nor is there any indication that the asterisks in that list cross-refer to the new taxa in the systematic descriptions. Readers must work that out for themselves. Figures 4 and 5 provide some specific examples of interpretations. In Figure 4, that may be seen on p. 47 *Scorpaena longicornis* and *S. zanzibarensis* (both as "sp. n."), which, by cross-reference, are both confirmed by asterisks as new species attributed to Playfair on p. ix (see Figure 5). However, *S. cirrhosa* had been previously described, hence has no asterisk on p. ix. In Figure 5 note that, of the family Cirrhitidae only one species (*Cirrhites forsteri*) appears in the main work (on p. 46), whilst of sixteen species in the family Scorpaenidae, nine appear in the main work (on pp.

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book with such a title exists, Dean was clearly referring to the volume discussed herein. Unfortunately, although Dean's expanded title refers to the "List of fishes observed on the east coast of Africa" (Playfair & Günther, 1867 [1866]: vii–xiv), he failed to point out its potential for confusion with regard to nomenclatural authorities.

SCORPÆNA. 47

148. **Scorpæna cirrhosa.** [34.]

Perca cirrhosa, *Thunberg, Nya Handl. Stockh.* xiv. 1793, p. 199, pl. 7. f. 2.
Scorpæna cirrhosa, *Cuv. & Val.* iv. p. 318; *Schleg. Fauna Japonica, Poiss.* p. 42, pl. 17. f. 2, 3; *Günth. Fish.* ii. p. 120.

D. 11 | $\frac{1}{9-10}$. A. $\frac{3}{5}$. L. lat. 50–58.

Aden. *East-Indian, Chinese, and Japanese seas.*

149. **Scorpæna longicornis,** sp. n. Plate VIII. fig. 1. [570.]

D. 11 | $\frac{1}{9}$. A. $\frac{3}{5}$. L. lat. 36.

Palatine teeth. The height of the body is nearly equal to the length of the head, and is one-third of the total length. The head is nearly entirely scaleless. The jaws are equal in front. *The orbital tentacles are very long*, scarcely fringed, subcylindrical, *extending, when laid back, to the fourth dorsal spine.* The length of the snout is two-sevenths that of the head; interorbital space deeply concave, with scarcely any ridges within its concavity. Vertex with a deep subquadrangular groove, much broader than long, surrounded by spines.

The fifth and sixth dorsal spines are the longest, their length being contained twice and one-third in that of the head; the third is much stronger than the second of the anal, which is half the length of the head. There are five pectoral rays branched. Six longitudinal series of scales between the dorsal fin and the lateral line.

Colour reddish, marbled with white and black; a black blotch on the back, beneath and in front of the first four dorsal spines. Axil of pectoral marbled with light brown.

Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Zanzibar.

150. **Scorpæna zanzibarensis,** sp. n. Plate VIII. fig. 2. [400.]

D. 11 | $\frac{1}{9}$. A. $\frac{3}{5}$. L. lat. 37.

Palatine teeth. Height of body somewhat less than the length of the head, which is contained four times and one-third in the total length. Head nearly entirely scaleless; snout short, its length being about a quarter of that of the head. Interorbital space deeply concave, with scarcely any ridges at the bottom. Orbital tentacles well developed, reaching, when laid back, to the first dorsal spine; the part before the root of the pectorals scaly. Four pectoral rays branched. The fourth, fifth, and sixth dorsal spines the longest, their length being contained twice and two-thirds in the length of the head. The third dorsal spine much shorter than the second of anal, which is half the length of the head. Six longitudinal series of scales between the base of the dorsal fin and the lateral line, which has tentacles.

Figure 4. Extract from p. 47 of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* demonstrating the association of names of "sp. n." with those species denoted by asterisks in the "List of fishes observed on the east coast of Africa". Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

CIRRHITIDÆ.

Page

Cirrhites, *Commers.*
forsteri, *Schn.* 46
arcatus, *M. Park* (Mauritius).
punctatus, *C. & V.* (Maur.).
cinctus, *Gthr.* (Mauritius).
Cirrhitichthys, *Blkr.*
maculatus, *Lacép.* (Maur.).
oxycephalus, *Blkr.* (Réun.).
Oxycirrhites, *Blkr.*
typus, *Blkr.* (Mauritius).

SCORPÆNIDÆ.

Scorpæna, *Artedi.*
diabolus, *C. & V.* 46
nesogallica, *C. & V.* (Maur.).
cirrhosa, *Thunb.* 47
*longicornis, *Playf.* 47
*zanzibarensis, *Playf.* 47
mauritiana, *C. & V.* (Maur.)
mossambica, *Pet.* (Mozamb.).
Pterois, *Cuv.*
volitans, *L.* 48
lunulata, *Schleg.* 48
antennata, *Bl.* (Réunion).
cincta, *Rüpp.* 48
miles, *Benn.* (Réunion).
zebra, *C. & V.* (Réunion).
brachyptera, *C. & V.* 48
Tetraroge, *Gthr.*
binotata, *Pet.* 48
tænianotus, *C. & V.* (Maur.).

Figure 5. Extract from p. ix of the "List of fishes observed on the east coast of Africa", showing asterisked species, the authorities of which are consistently omitted from the main work entitled *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

47–48), of which *Scorpaena longicornis* and *S. zanzibarensis* (p. 47) are the only new species, both denoted by asterisks and attributed to Playfair alone (see Figure 5).

IMPACT OF *THE FISHES OF ZANZIBAR* ON SYSTEMATIC ICHTHYOLOGY

It has proved difficult, for two reasons, to discern what impact the confusion over nomenclatural authorities and the use of incorrect dating for *The Fishes of Zanzibar* might have had on systematic ichthyology in general. Many of the systematic studies that cite *The Fishes of Zanzibar* refer to it for its morphological descriptions rather than for establishing nomenclatural priorities. Relevant evidence is therefore scant. In 1954, it was said that "To ichthyologists, the east coast of Africa still represents an almost virgin field … Except for the monograph of Playfair & Günther (1866), the ichthyology of the region between Cape Delgado to the south and Cape Gardafui to the north remains virtually untouched" (Morrow, 1954:

797). Hence, earlier references have been difficult to trace, but examples published during the subsequent seventy years are given in Table 1.

Table 1 comprises a selection of relevant publications. From 1867 until about 1981, authors were consistent in citing nomenclatural authorities and their dating in *The Fishes of Zanzibar* (see Randall & Randall, 1981). Thus, the new taxa included were attributed to either Playfair or Günther, in compliance with the stipulation in the preface (Playfair & Günther 1867 [1866]: v), and the original work was generally believed to have been published in 1866, as per its title-page (Smith, 1953; Morrow, 1954). Subsequent variability (see Table 1) apparently stems from the publication of a facsimile reprint issued in 1971 (Playfair & Günther, 1971 [1867]), which conveyed the opinions of the ichthyologist George Sprague Myers (1905–1985) on authorities (Myers, 1971) and of Günther's grandson, Albert Everard Gunther[4] (1903–1998) on the dating of the volume (Gunther, 1971).

The 1971 facsimile was apparently slow to become generally known, but as it gained more prominence, Myers's suggestion regarding joint nomenclatural authorities began to introduce confusion, although some ichthyologists remained faithful to the original stipulation of the authors. Very few workers referenced the facsimile, and with only one notable exception, none commented critically on Myers's and Gunther's 1971 essays; thus, whilst Jawad *et al.* (2012) accepted Gunther's suggestion of a probable publication date of 1867, on the other hand, they explicitly rejected Myers's opinion that the new taxa should be attributed to Playfair and Günther jointly. However, their paper (Jawad *et al.*, 2012: 102, see below), similarly to certain other authors, such as Dean (1917), Randall (2013) and Parenti and Randall (2000; 2020), misleadingly introduced an extension to the title given on the title-page of the work, when they listed it in their references, where it differed from both the original (1867) and the reprinted (1971) versions of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*:

> PLAYFAIR R. L. & GÜNTHER A., 1867 - The fishes of Zanzibar, with a list of the fishes of the whole east coast of Africa. London. [Reprinted in 1971, with a new introduction by G. S. Myers and a new forward [*sic*] by A. E. Gunther; Newton K. Gregg, publisher, Kentfield, California.]. The fishes of Zanzibar: i-xix + 1-153 pp., Pls. 1-21. [For date see forward [*sic*] in reprint. For authorship of new taxa, we use the title page and pp. vii-xiv, not remark on p. v.].[5]

The published title is, in fact, *The Fishes of Zanzibar, Acanthopterygii, Pharyngognathi, etc.* (Figure 1), which is often shortened for convenience to *The Fishes of Zanzibar.*

From Table 1, it is immediately obvious that papers published before 1971, indeed up to 1981, consistently complied with the explicit information regarding publication date and format of nomenclatural attributions given in the original edition of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. It is important, however, to distinguish between citations of "Playfair & Günther" as the authorities of particular scientific names, and as a general Harvard reference to their book (*cf.* Williams, 2011: 1006). The earliest general references to *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, by Playfair or Günther themselves (between 1867 and 1870), did not provide a date,[6] but attributed new taxa therein to one or the other author alone, as they intended in 1867. This stability was maintained for over a century.

The first author to adopt Myers's and Gunther's ideas appears to have been Randall (1985),

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[4] Note that Günther's son, Robert William Theodore Gunther (1869–1940), and his grandson, A. E. Gunther, dropped the use of an umlaut in the family name.

[5] A rather confusing explanation, but in effect they appear to have meant that their citations of authorities were guided by their aforementioned "list of the fishes of the whole east coast of Africa".

[6] They presumably expected their contemporaries to know the publication date as a matter of course.

Table 1. Selected list of references to dating of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* (*FoZ*) and to the stated authorities of new taxa (1867–2020).

Year	Author(s)	*FoZ* dated	Playfair alone	Günther alone	Joint authors ‡
1867	Günther	1866	Yes	Yes	No
1868a	Günther	Not stated	None included	Yes	No
1868 [1867]	Playfair	Not stated	Yes	Yes	No
1868	Playfair	Not stated	None included	Yes	No
1870	Günther	Not stated	None included	Yes	No
1917	Dean §	1866	None included	None included	None included
1917	Gilchrist & Thompson	1866	Yes	None included	No
1936	Smith	1866	Yes	None included	No
1953	Smith	1866	None included	None included	None included
1954	Morrow	1866	None included	None included	None included
1957	Talbot	1866	None included	None included	None included
1962	Smith	1866	None included	Yes	No
1976	Venkateswarlu & Rama Rao	1866	Yes	None included	No
1981	Randall & Randall	1866	Yes	Yes	No
1985	Randall	1867 †	None included	None included	None included
1986	Venkateswarlu & Rama Rao	1866	Yes	None included	No
1994	Pethiyagoda *et al.*	1867	None included	No	Yes
1994	Randall & van Egmond	1867	No	No	Yes
1995	Randall & Golani	1867	No	No	Yes
2000	Parenti & Randall §	1867	No	No	Yes
2003	Randall & Khalaf	1867	None included	Yes *	No
2003	Durville *et al.*	1867	Yes *	Yes	No
2004	Letourneur *et al.*	1866	Yes, but dated 1867	None included	No
2009	Nagy	1866 †	None included	None included	None included
2009	Fricke *et al.*	1867	Yes *	Yes *	No
2010	Golani & Bogorodsky	1866	No	None included	No
2011	Parenti & Randall	1867	None included	No	Yes
2012	Jawad *et al.* §	1867 †	Yes	None included	No
2012	Costa	1866	None included	None included	None included
2013	Kumar *et al.*	1867	No	None included	Yes
2013	Fricke *et al.*	1867	Yes	Yes	No
2013	Randall §	1867	None included	None included	None included
2013	Atheer	1867	[Error for Günther]	Yes *	None included
2015	Behera *et al.*	1867	Yes	None included	No
2018	Parenti & Randall	1867	None included	Yes	No
2019	Fricke *et al.*	1867	Yes *	None included	No
2019	Smith *et al.*	1867	None included	Yes *	No
2020	Parenti & Randall	1867	Yes *	None included	Yes

‡ "Joint authorship" indicates authorities of new taxa, and is not a Harvard reference to the whole work.
† Refers to the 1971 facsimile reprint of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*.
* Cited as "Playfair [or] Günther *in* Playfair & Günther (1867)".
§ Employed expanded title.

although in the following year Venkateswarlu and Rama Rao (1986) complied with the pre-1971 convention, attributing a new taxon in *The Fishes of Zanzibar* to Playfair alone, dated 1866. Nearly 20 years later, Letourneur *et al.* (2004), although having dated the whole work as 1866, inconsistently (but correctly) dated as 1867 their attribution of one of the included new taxa to Playfair only. Following Venkateswarlu and Rama Rao (1986) and Letourneur *et al.* (2004), Fricke *et al.* (2013) correctly dated *The Fishes of Zanzibar* as 1867, but maintained attributions of its new taxa to Playfair or Günther separately. Nagy (2009), however, oddly dated *The Fishes of Zanzibar* as 1866, although his references show that he was aware of the 1971 facsimile. There seems to be no doubt that the inconsistencies in these aforementioned citations are due to the essays by Myers (1971) and Gunther (1971).

An analysis of J. E. Randall's publications provides a salutary example of a single person's variable interpretations. Randall was an author or co-author of an extensive series of papers citing *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, but it seems that he was not aware of the 1971 facsimile for at least ten years after its publication (Table 1). For instance, Randall and Randall (1981) still dated *The Fishes of Zanzibar* as 1866 and attributed included new taxa to either Playfair or Günther, but after his apparent discovery of the facsimile, Randall's subsequent papers generally followed the suggestions of Myers (1971) regarding authorities and the comments of Gunther (1971) about dating. Nevertheless, there are still inexplicable deviations. During 35 years, Randall (1985), Randall and van Egmond (1994), Parenti and Randall (2000, 2020) dated *The Fishes of Zanzibar* as 1867, and in the last three publications, attributed the included new taxa to Playfair and Günther jointly. But within the same period, Randall and Khalaf (2003) and Parenti and Randall (2018) attributed one species to Günther only, and Parenti and Randall (2020) attributed new taxa either just to Playfair, or to Playfair and Günther jointly.

In summary, from the 1980s until quite recently, there have been inconsistencies in the literature with regard to authorship of new taxa in *The Fishes of Zanzibar* and in its publication date. What is important from a historical point of view is that the authors of most of these publications have given no reasons for their actions, which appear to be quite random.

CITATION STABILITY

The previous section demonstrates unequivocally the inconsistences regarding citation of the authorities that have increased since the publication in 1971 of the facsimile of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Gunther's information about the year of publication is important for nomenclatural priority, and is further refined herein. However, with regard to Myers's recommendation regarding joint authorship of new taxa in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, it cannot be concluded otherwise that it has resulted in temporary destabilization of ichthyological nomenclatural citations. But how should this situation be dealt with?

In his introductory essay in the facsimile of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, Myers (1971: 20, footnote 1) stated:

> Modern fish taxonomists should note that, although Playfair accepted responsibility for Acanthopterygii, which Günther had already monographed in his *Catalogue* and so were easier for Playfair to deal with, and Günther for the remainder, the statement in the Preface that both were responsible for all parts indicates that all included new species should be ascribed, under the International Code, jointly to Playfair and Günther.

This interpretation is perhaps too straitened, and certainly runs counter to the authors stated wishes regarding their separate responsibilities.

The edition current in 1971 of *The International Code of Zoological Nomenclature* was the second (ICZN, 1964). Myers was, therefore, presumably guided as follows by its Article 50:

> The author (authors) of a scientific name is (are) the person (persons) who first publish(es) it in a way that satisfies the criteria of availability, unless it is clear from the contents of the publication that only one (or some) of the joint authors, or some other person (or persons), is alone **responsible** both for the name and the conditions that make it available.

The presently current fourth edition of *The International Code of Zoological Nomenclature* (ICZN, 1999: 52), recommends, in Article 50 (Recommendation 50A), that:

> When a name is proposed in a multi-authored work, but only one (or some) of the authors is (are) directly **responsible** for the name and satisfying the criteria that make the name available, then the author(s) directly **responsible** should be identified explicitly. Co-authors of the whole work who have not had such direct **responsibility** for the name should not automatically be included as authors of the name.

In *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, whilst both authors were automatically responsible for the publication of each name, the same is not necessarily true for the attributions of the proposed names. It is impossible to know which author might have actually coined any of the names. In fact, it seems extremely unlikely that Playfair coined all of the Acanthopterygii names, and Günther all of the rest. As they stated (p. v):

> We have thought it advisable that there should be only one authority for new species, on which account each of the authors has attached his name to a moiety of the work …

I see no reason to take the default position of joint authorship when the authors have explicitly stated their own positions. I opine that, since Article 50 allows for justified separate attributions of each of the co-authors of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, respect for the stated intention of the authors should continue to be maintained.

Therefore, for complete clarity, the standard citation format for the authors of the new taxa in *The Fishes of Zanzibar* should be "Playfair [or] Günther *in* Playfair & Günther 1867". Table 1 records that this course has also been taken concomitantly, although somewhat inconsistently, by Randall and Khalaf (2003), Durville *et al.* (2003), Fricke *et al.* (2009), Atheer (2013), Fricke *et al.* (2019), Smith *et al.* (2019) and Parenti and Randall (2020). It is clear that the opinion of Myers (1971), having caused confusion at least up to 2020, should be set aside. In fact, the *Global Biodiversity Information Facility* (upon which the authoritative *World Register of Marine Species* is based) refers to either Playfair or Günther as single authorities for new taxa in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, correctly dated 1867, so the editors of that respected source clearly share this opinion.

It is therefore useful to list together the particular authorities for the new taxa described in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, in order to render them directly accessible. The list, comprising 42 new species and one new genus, does not include any nomenclatural acts. The authorities provided below are extracted directly from the list of African east-coast fishes (pp. vii–xiv), with cross-references in page order (with plate numbers) to the proposed new taxa in the systematic descriptions. In the African list, only new taxa were intended to be marked with an asterisk, but one species (*Platyglossus opercularis* Günther; pp. xi and 95) bears an erroneous asterisk; it is clearly not a new species because it had already been described by Günther in a previous publication, *Catalogue of the Fishes in the British Museum* (Günther, 1862: 148).

Conversely, one new species in the systematic descriptions (*Histiophorus brevirostris* Playfair; pp. ix and 53) lacks an asterisk in the African list; it is illustrated only by a wood engraving (p. 54). Four other new species are not illustrated at all.

Serranus dispar Playfair (pp. 6–7; pl. I).
Serranus striolatus Playfair (pp. 11–12; pl. III).
Apogon nigripes Playfair (p. 19; pl. V).
Pristipoma multimaculatum Playfair (pp. 23–24; pl. III).
Pristipoma operculare Playfair (pp. 24–25; pl. IV).
Scolopsis nototaenia Playfair (pp. 29–30; pl. V).
Chaetodon zanzibarensis Playfair (p. 33; pl. VI).
Chaetodon melanopoma Playfair (p. 35; pl. VI).
Chaetodon leucopleura Playfair (pp. 35–36; pl. VI).
Holacanthus multispinis Playfair (pp. 37–38; pl. VI).
Mullus dispilurus Playfair (p. 41; pl. V).
Mullus pleurotaenia Playfair (pp. 41–42; pl. V).
Tripterodon Playfair (p. 42; pl. VII).
Tripterodon orbis Playfair (pp. 42–43; pl. VII).
Lethrinus longirostris Playfair (pp. 44–45; pl. VII).
Scorpaena longicornis Playfair (p. 47; pl. VIII).
Scorpaena zanzibarensis Playfair (pp. 47–48; pl. VIII).
Histiophorus brevirostris Playfair (pp. 53–55; text engraving).
Caranx vomerinus Playfair (pp. 59–60; pl. X).
Gobius sewardii Playfair (pp. 71–72; no illustration).
Gobiosoma fasciatum Playfair (p. 72; no illustration).
Gobiodon reticulatus Playfair (pp. 72–73; pl. IX).
Eleotris wardii Playfair (pp. 73–74; pl. IX).
Eleotris soaresi Playfair (pp. 74–75; pl. IX).
Glyphidodon adenensis Günther (p. 83; pl. XI).
Heliastes opercularis Günther (p. 84; pl. XI).
Xiphochilus gymnogenys Günther (pp. 85–86; pl. XII).
Cheilinus rhodochrous Günther (p. 90; pl. XI).
Cheilinus callophthalmus [*sic*] Günther (p. 90; pl. XI).
Pseudojulis argyreogaster Günther (pp. 95–96; pl. XII).
Coris frerei Günther (pp. 101–102; pl. XIII).
Pseudoscarus nigripinnis Günther (pp. 105–106; pl. XV).
Pseudoscarus chloromelas Günther (pp. 109–110; pl. XV).
Gerres lineolatus Günther (pp. 110–111; pl. XVI).
Rasbora zanzibarensis Günther (pp. 119–120; pl. XVII).
Anguilla johannae Günther (p. 124; no illustration).
Anguilla amblodon Günther (p. 125; no illustration).
Muraena nudivomer Günther (p. 127; pl. XVIII).
Monacanthus fronticinctus Günther (p. 136; pl. XIX).
Hippocampus subcoronatus Günther (p. 139; pl. XX).
Syngnathus zanzibarensis Günther (p. 140; pl. XX).
Ginglymostoma brevicaudatum Günther (p. 141; pl. XXI).
Pomacentrus trichourus Günther (p. 146; pl. XVII).

THE DATE OF PUBLICATION OF *THE FISHES OF ZANZIBAR*

Whilst opinions regarding the nomenclatural authorities in *The Fishes of Zanzibar* have in the past been confusingly inconsistent, there is no doubt whatever that the often cited publication date of 1866 (Figure 1) is incorrect.[7] Publication actually occurred in 1867, consistent with four plates being dated 1867 (Table 3), but uncritical acceptance of the title-page date has given rise to erroneous citations of 1866 for the work, not only in the older classic bibliographies by Bosgoed (1873: 74),[8] Woodward (1913: 1584), Dean (1917: 271) and Wood (1931: 520), but also in online catalogue entries for copies recorded in Library Hub Discover (previously COPAC) and WORLDCAT. Even Günther himself, as editor of the "Pisces" section in *The Record of Zoological Literature*, of which he was also the general editor, gave (apparently deliberately) the incorrect date of 1866 for his own publication (Günther 1867: 131–132). Such misinformation regarding the publication date of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* is obviously crucial in any question of nomenclatural

[7] "Rarely can a single piece of evidence be regarded as conclusive … certainly not the title page, which is where lying about a book begins" (Stearn, 1981: 2).

[8] Bosgoed also erroneously attributed *The Fishes of Zanzibar* to "Günther (A. C. L. G.) and R. L. Playfair" (see Bosgoed, 1873: 74), failing elsewhere in the same publication to credit Playfair at all (see Bosgoed, 1873: 115). A further instance of the volume being wrongly attributed to Günther & Playfair (1866) occurs in Losse (1968: 114).

This day is published, royal 4to. £3 3s.

THE FISHES of ZANZIBAR. By Lieut.-Colonel R. Lambert Playfair, Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, and Albert C. L. G. Günther, M.A., Ph.D., M.D. With 21 Plates containing 67 Figures of the Fishes, 16 of them Coloured.

John Van Voorst, 1 Paternoster Row.

Figure 6. Example of Van Voorst's announcement, published on 30 March 1867 in several British newspapers, of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Courtesy of British Library Newspaper Archive.

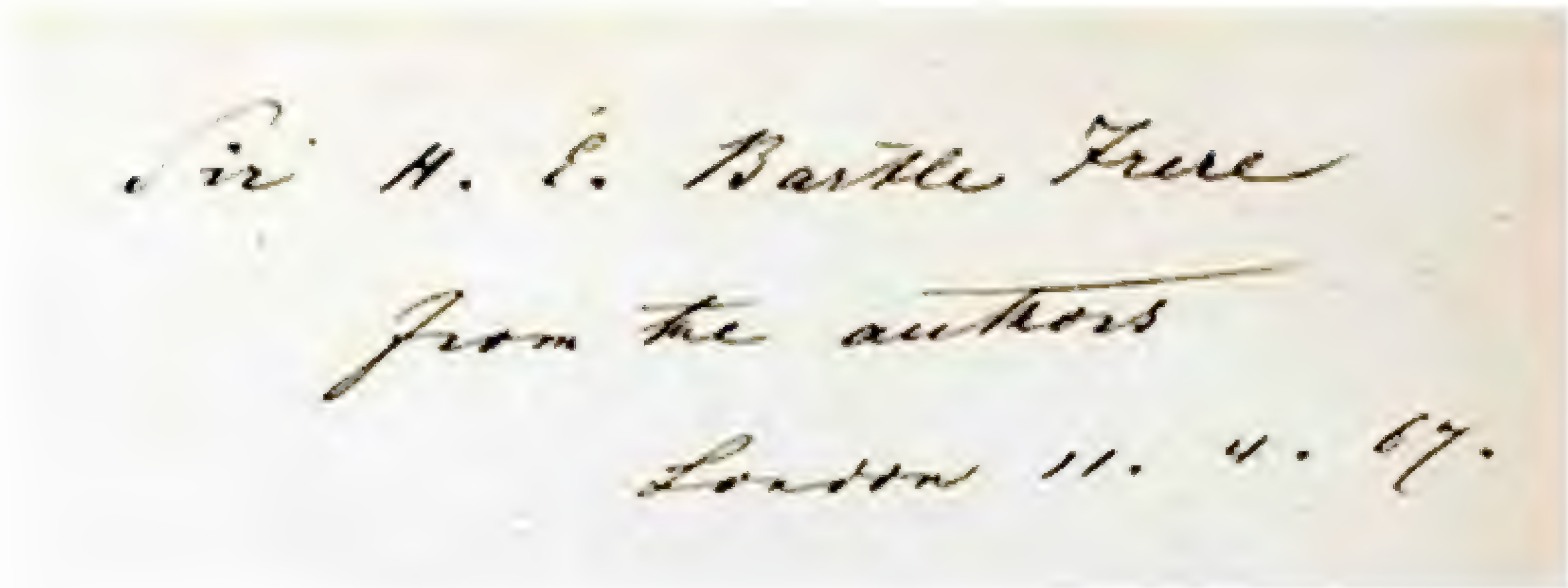
Sir H. E. Bartle Frere
from the authors
London 11. 4. 67.

Figure 7. The inscription to Sir H. E. Bartle Frere of the presentation copy from the authors of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. dated 11 April 1867. Courtesy of Dominic Winter (Auctioneers) Ltd.

priority. Curiously, in his critical review of the 1971 facsimile, Wheeler (1972) made no comment about the incorrect original publication date of 1866.

Investigation of how Playfair, Günther and their contemporaries might have cited the date of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* has revealed that when Playfair referenced the book soon after publication, in a paper on the fishes of Seychelles, he provided no date at all (Playfair, 1868 [1867]: 846–848, 853, 854); and similarly in a paper on a collection from Madagascar (Playfair, 1868: 10). Day (1870 [1869]: 512; 1872 [1871]: 635) did likewise. Furthermore, in a belated review in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* (Anonymous, 1868: 144–145), *The Fishes of Zanzibar* is again not dated, although it is notable that two other titles, also published by John Van Voorst, in the same review section are dated 1867. Obviously, then, no useful evidence can be derived from such sources. Though Günther (1867), in *The Record of Zoological Literature*, cited the work as 1866, while he clearly knew that to be incorrect, he made no mention of the work among the following year's publications (Günther, 1868a). Even as late as 1882, *The Fishes of Zanzibar* was still stated to have been published in 1866 (Anonymous, 1882: 247).[9] Much later, Morrow (1954: 797) surprisingly followed suit.

We must turn, therefore, to newspaper advertisements for corroborating information. During 1866, no mention was made of the book's forthcoming. Perhaps the first announcement of public availability appeared on 26 March 1867, among "Publications for the past week" (*Morning Advertiser*, 26 March 1867; supplement, p. 2). This advertisement implies that publication was perhaps between 19 and 26 March 1867, but, as is so often the case,

[9] This review of Günther's *An Introduction the Study of Fishes* (1880) is incidentally of great interest for its drawing attention to early work on "deep-sea" fishes by Günther, James Yate Johnson (1820–1900) and Richard Thomas Lowe (1802–1874) in Madeira (pp. 253–254).

wording such as "the past week" cannot be accepted as being precise. Soon afterwards, on 30 March 1867, Van Voorst's announcement, "This day is published …" (Figure 6), appeared in several newspapers, but "this day" is really just as vague as "the past week". Nevertheless, the publication year of 1867 is corroborated by *The English Catalogue of Books* (Low, 1873: 303).

I first became aware of the 1971 facsimile reprint of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* only since writing my original draft of the present account. To that reprint, Günther's grandson, Albert Everard Gunther, contributed some family letters between Playfair and Günther. He noted that "the exact date of the publication of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* has remained in doubt. The Preface is dated November 1866 when the question of some of the plates was still under discussion" (Gunther, 1971: 28). He further revealed that in December 1866, Playfair wrote to Günther from England, "… I have determined to leave England on the 1st March instead of 1st April. It will be a great struggle to get the book ready by that time … If you have any proof sheets ready pray send them" (Gunther, 1971: 28). That strongly suggests that the letterpress might still not have been completed by the end of 1866. However, in a letter dated 7 March 1867 (Gunther, 1971: 29), Playfair implied that copies of their book may by then have become available, at least twelve days earlier than indicated by the aforementioned, admittedly vague, newspaper advertisements, because he was writing this time from Paris.

Fortuitously, a custom leather-bound copy inscribed to the current Governor of Bombay, "Sir H. E. Bartle Frere from the authors London 11.4.67" (Figure 7), was offered for sale by Dominic Winter Auctioneers.[10] The binder had stamped "LOND 1866." at the foot of the spine to match the title-page, but this copy would presumably have been bound and presented at the earliest opportunity after publication in 1867. Frere had committed financial resources of the Bombay Government to purchase 100 copies (see later), and the frontispiece was accordingly of a species named after him. Hence, allowing for the time possibly taken for this exclusive binding, the inscription of 11 April 1867 evidences this as a latest date of publication.[11] Corroboration is provided by a review dated 13 April 1867 in *The Field* (Anonymous, 1867), and the accession date of the legal deposit copy received by the British Museum on 15 April 1867.

In compliance with Article 21.4 (Date incorrect) of *The International Code of Zoological Nomenclature* (ICZN, 1999: 22), the publication date of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* is shown to have been in 1867, but no later than 11 April.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

A detailed bibliographical description of *The Fishes of Zanzibar: Acanthopterygii, Pharyngognathi etc.* has never been published, but is important with regard to dating, artistic production and publishing history. The production of this volume was to the highest standards, apparently no expense being spared in the employment of the most capable artists and lithographers, letterpress and lithographic printers, and binders. It is also a unique example of an armorial binding published by Van Voorst, apparently in recognition of the

[10] Lot 108: 7 October 2020; https://www.dominicwinter.co.uk/Auction/Lot/108-playfair-r-lambert--gunther-albert-clg-the-fishes-of-zanzibar-1st-edition-1866/?lot=362096&sd=1# (accessed 20 June 2025). This same copy had been sold previously by Christies (7–8 April 2004, lot 599) who wrongly quoted the presentation inscription as "Sir H. E. Bartle Frere from the Authors London 11.11.76" https://www.christies.com/en/auction/the-quentin-keynes-collection-18693/browse-lots?page=1&searchphrase=599&sortby=lotnumber (accessed 20 June 2025).

[11] This elaborate binding may have taken one or two weeks to complete (pers. comm., Janet Ashdown, 24 June 2025).

financing of 100 copies by the Bombay Government. Descriptions of cloth grains for casing conform with Krupp (2008).

It seems to be not generally known that a complete set of the plates (all uncoloured), without the text, of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* was later printed (Playfair & Günther, 1867). It is fully described later herein.

The letterpress

The printing of this volume is a fine example of the work of Taylor and Francis, whose famous imprint of the Roman oil lamp (see Brock & Meadows, 1984: 98) is on the verso of the title-page. The title-page (see Figure 1), reads (in quasi-facsimile):

THE | FISHES OF ZANZIBAR | ACANTHOPTERYGII | BY | LIEUT. COLONEL R. LAMBERT PLAYFAIR, | HER MAJESTY'S POLITICAL AGENT AND CONSUL AT ZANZIBAR ; | PHARYNGOGNATHI ETC. | BY | ALBERT C. L. G. GÜNTHER, M.A., Ph.D., M.D. | LONDON : | JOHN VAN VOORST, PATERNOSTER ROW. | MDCCCLXVI.

Some sources cite this volume as *The Fishes of Zanzibar, Acanthopterygii*. This is apparently the result of the slightly awkward break in information on the title-page about the higher taxonomic groups treated (Figure 1). Thus, the superorder Acanthopterygii, followed by Playfair's name and diplomatic appointments, unfortunately deflects attention from the groups addressed by Günther under the suborder "Pharyngognathi etc.", which is often, therefore, overlooked. Little wonder, then, that rather than puzzle over the most appropriate way to present the fragmented title, many authors refer simply to *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, although the correct full title is *The Fishes of Zanzibar, Acanthopterygii, Pharyngognathi etc.*

The collation formula is: Royal 4to: A^4 b^4(–*b*4) $(B–U)^4$ X1 [$2 signed (–A1)]. Unusually, the first gathering of the preliminary leaves is signed "A". There is no half-title. The leaf size (untrimmed) is 12¾ × 9¾ inches (324 × 248 mm; shape index 1.31). Following Gaskell (1974: 86), multiplying the leaf dimensions for a quarto format gives an original sheet size of 25½ × 19½ inches, approximating to the size of a royal sheet of 25 × 20 inches (*cf.* Gould, 1876: 167). There are 84 leaves. The pagination is: xiv + 154 pp; [i –iii] iv–v [vi –vii] viii –xiv [1] 2–146 [147] 148–153 [154]. Table 2 summarizes the contents.

Table 2. Order of contents of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*.

Letterpress or plates	Signatures*	Pagination
Plate XIII	—	Frontispiece
Title-page	$A1^r$	[i]
Printer's imprint	$A1^v$	[ii]
Preface	$A2–3^r$	[iii] iv–v
Blank	$A3^v$	[vi]
List of Fishes Observed on the East Coast of Africa	A4 *b*1–3	[vii] viii–xiv
Errata	$b3^v$	xiv
The Fishes of Zanzibar	$B–U1^v$	[1] 2–146
Index	$U2–4\ X1^r$	[147] 148–153
Blank	$X1^v$	[154]
Plates I–XII, XIV–XXI	—	Sewn at end

* **Note**: ^{r} = recto; ^{v} = verso.

The errata printed on p. xiv amount to six necessary corrections of original factual errors made by the authors. Additionally, however, on p. xi in the east African species list, *Platyglossus opercularis* Günther is asterisked as if a new species, but the account on p. 95 reveals that Günther had named it previously and so, correctly, it is not there shown as a new species.

Some typographical errors have been observed. 1) On p. xi in the east African species list, the specific epithet "calophthalmus" of the genus *Cheilinus* is mis-spelt "callophthalmus" (but correctly spelt everywhere else); 2) On p. 149 of the Index, "gymnogenys (Xiphochilus), 15" is actually on p. 85, which is, however, correctly indicated on p. xi in the east African species list; 3) On p. 71, the variety "*africanus*" of *Gobius caninus* is given as "*africana*"; 4) On p. 76, the specific epithet of *Callionymus longicaudatus* is misspelt "*longecaudatus*"; 5) On p. 136, the generic name of *Monacanthus isogramma* is misspelt "*Monocanthus*".

The illustrations

There are 21 lithographic plates, the coloured plate XIII normally serving as the frontispiece. Their dimensions are the same as the letterpress leaves: 12¾ × 9¾ inches (324 × 248 mm). Only six plates are hand-coloured (VI, XII–XV and XX), not all 21 (*pace* Woodward, 1913; *pace* Wood, 1931). Further details are shown in Table 3. A unique presentation copy to H. E. Bartle Frere, bound in full panelled morocco, is elaborately decorated in gilt, with the uncoloured plates (only) on "India paper (mounted)" [perhaps actually China paper, which was more commonly used for lithographs (see Carter, 1972: 59, 119)]. However, regular copies of the book do not have any mounted plates.

Table 3. Salient features of the 21 plates of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*.

Plate no.	Artist/lithographer	Printer	Dated	Colouring
I	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
II	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
III	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
IV	G. [= J.] Smit	W. West	1866	None
V	G. [= J.] Smit	W. West	1866	None
VI	G. H. Ford	W. West	1867	Hand-coloured
VII	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
VIII	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
IX	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
X	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
XI	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
XII	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	Hand-coloured
XIII (frontis.)	G. H. Ford	W. West	1867	Hand-coloured
XIV	G. H. Ford	W. West	1867	Hand-coloured
XV	G. H. Ford	W. West	1867	Hand-coloured
XVI	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
XVII	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
XVIII	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None
XIX	G. [= J.] Smit	W. West	1866	None
XX	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	Hand-coloured
XXI	G. H. Ford	W. West	1866	None

Most of the plates are by G. H. Ford. The exceptions are nos. IV, V and XIX, which are attributed to "G. Smit". However, Wood (1931: 520) noted that in the copy of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* then held by McGill University, Montreal, there were inserted some manuscript leaves, including a receipted invoice for artwork by "J. Smit", presumably the Dutchman Joseph Smit (1836–1929). The "G. Smit" to whom three plates are attributed must, therefore, surely be the same person, because the only other European zoological artist known by the name of Smit was his son, Pierre Jacques Smit (1863–1960). Unfortunately, neither this book, nor the inserted manuscripts, are now to be found in the libraries or archive of McGill University (pers. comm., Lauren Williams, 10 June 2025). It was presumably the printer, W. West,[12] who when adding the names of lithographer, printer and publisher beneath each lithograph, accidentally created a mythical "G. Smit".

Besides the lithographic plates, there are some rather unremarkable, anonymous wood-engravings in the text, on pages 54, 55, 121, 124 and 125.

The casings

What is presumably the primary casing, for the 100 copies financed by the Bombay Government (Figure 8), has an armorial design; they are referred to herein as the "Bombay" copies. The boards are bevelled, about 40% thicker than, and the whole volume weighing about 30% more than, those of Van Voorst's more typical cases to be found on some other copies (see below). The front board has a single-ruled gilt border and a single-ruled central panel framed in black, enclosing the gilt-blocked royal coat of arms of the United Kingdom; the back board has the same rules in blind, but without the coat of arms.[13] The cloth grain is morocco (Krupp Lea1), the coated end-papers are usually dark green (but a few are brown), with the ticket of Edmonds & Remnants of London, the edition-binders often employed by Van Voorst (see no. 31A2 in Ball, 1985: 176). Some of these "Bombay" copies were presented by the authors to eminent persons, such as to Louis Agassiz (1807–1873), now in the Ernst Mayr Library at Harvard; to Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895) in the Huxley collection at Imperial College, London; to Sir J. Emerson Tennent (1804–1869) in the library of the University of Glasgow; and to Alfred Newton (1829–1907) in the Balfour & Newton Libraries of the Department of Zoology, University of Cambridge, UK. Curiously, a "Bombay" copy now in private hands was originally the property of the Convent of our Lady of Good Hope, Grahamstown, South Africa, perhaps a gift from Playfair.[14]

However, there are less elaborate publisher's casings, typical of Van Voorst's more usual understated style, in shades of green cloth blind-blocked with a broad and two narrow rules only at the head and tail (Figure 9) on a fine diamond diaper cloth (9 per cm; not described by Krupp, 2008); or as an all-round border of narrow-broad-narrow rules on a fine morocco cloth (Krupp Lea1, var 1). Both variants have plain end-papers and gilt lettering on the spine. Such copies were apparently cased later than the 100 "Bombay" copies; the cases are not typical of a remainder style. The boards of all three styles described herein measure 13 × 10 inches (330 × 251 mm).

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[12] The printer William West (1828–1870) was the younger brother of Tuffen West (1823–1891), the eminent engraver, lithographer and populariser of microscopy. William West and George Henry Ford often worked together and were at some time in a business partnership.

[13] Rather unusually for one of Van Voorst's publications, I have not seen any copy of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* with inserted publisher's advertisements, which was perhaps to avoid any hint of impropriety associated with the royal coat of arms on the Bombay copies.

[14] Significantly, Playfair was a staunch Roman Catholic. He, his wife and his daughter are interred in the original churchyard of the derelict St Andrews Cathedral, Scotland.

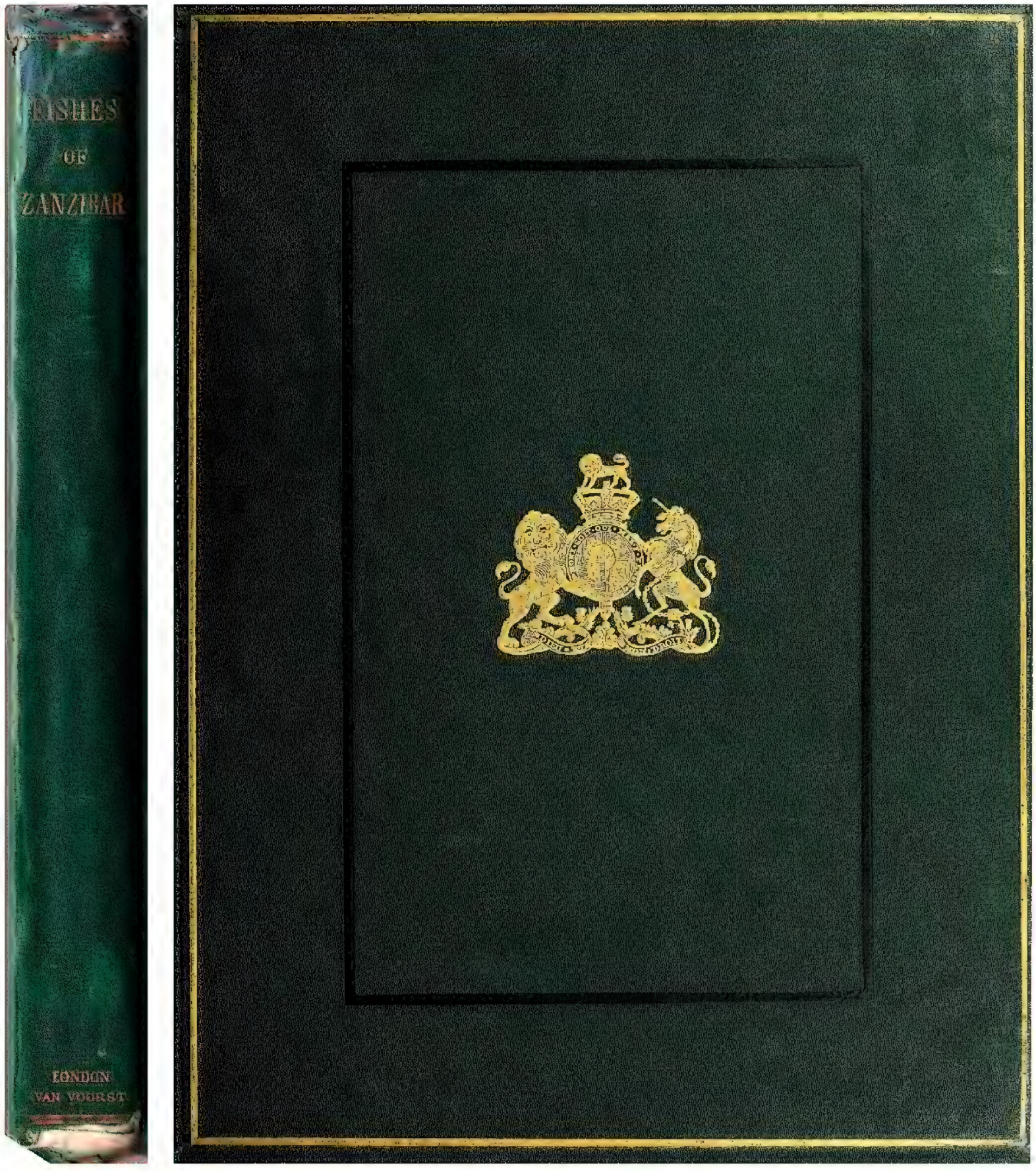

Figure 8a, b. The elaborate armorial casing with thick, bevelled boards of Bombay copies of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

These secondary copies such as that in Figure 9 have the plates, including the usual frontispiece plate XIII of "Bombay" copies, sewn *en bloc*, in numerical order at the back. Examination of the inner margins of leaves revealed no indication that Plate XIII was ever inserted as a frontispiece, so apparently it was sewn originally with the plates at the end of the volume. Their sewing is distinctively different from that in the "Bombay" copies; the plates, in two blocks, are sewn from head to tail, apparently by machine (Figure 10).

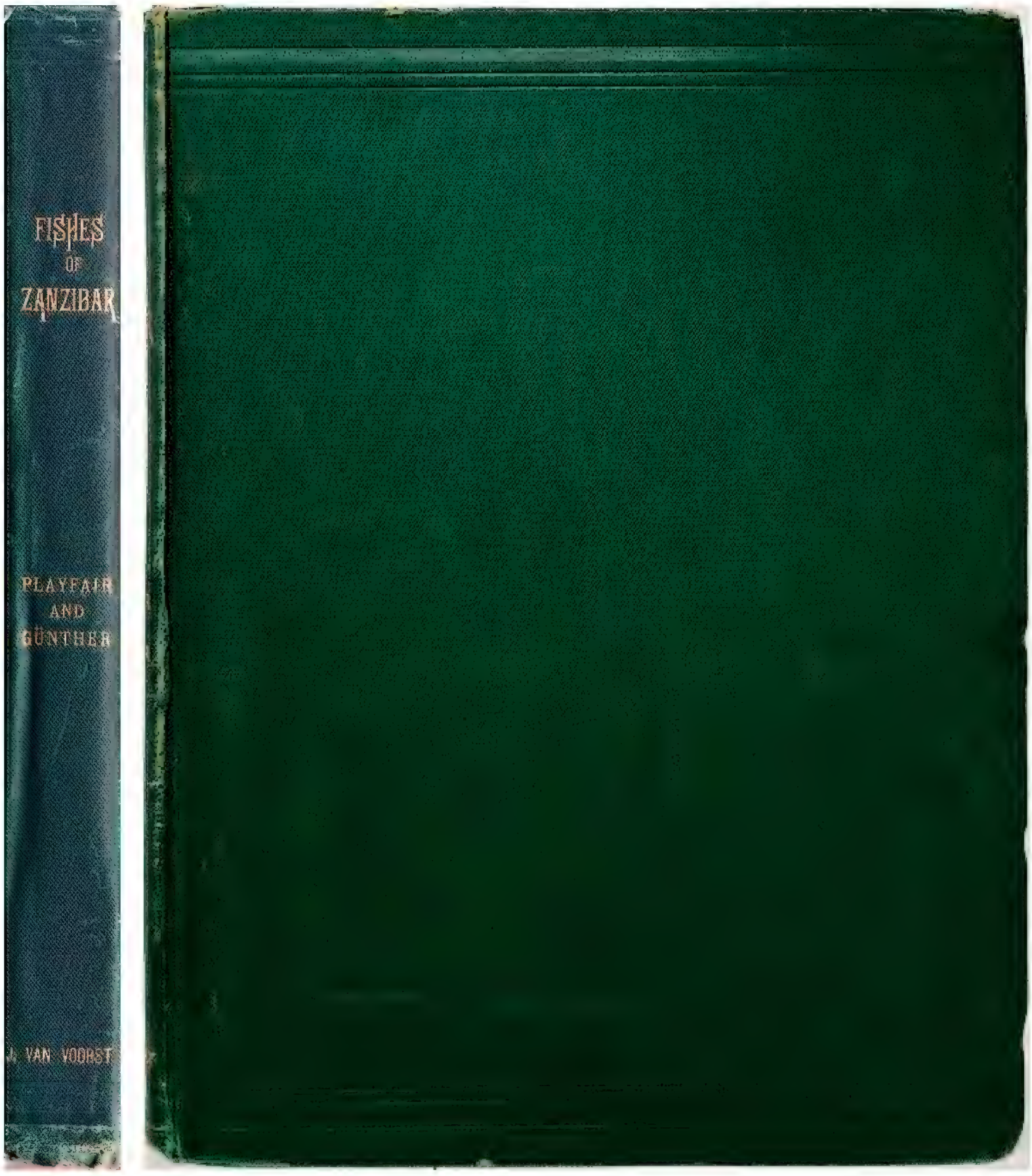

Figure 9a, b. An example of a less ornate example of a casing of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, possibly a remainder, in which plate XIII (the usual frontispiece) is sewn *en bloc* with the other plates after the text. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

It seems unlikely that such copies are remainders, though the casings must certainly be late publisher's styles. The front paste-down of one of them bears a pencilled price of "£3/10/-". Since the published price in 1867 was £3. 3*s*. (see Figure 6 and Low, 1873: 303), it may have been assembled, perhaps soon after the title had gone out of print, from a stock of remaining sheets and plates. Another copy, identical in all respects, is held by The London Library. A further copy, in commerce, with identical contents, differs only in the design on the

boards. All of them lack a frontispiece, and the plates are machine-sewn *en bloc* at the end (Figure 10).

It may be noted that the 1971 reprint is faithful to the first edition, except that all the plates, including the original frontispiece, are bound at the end.

Figure 10. The regular machine-sewing (between plates 10 and 11) of plates of examples of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* such as depicted in Figure 9. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

Discovery of a separate volume of uncoloured plates

The previously mentioned volume of uncoloured plates of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* (Playfair & Günther, 1867) is more fully described here. The only copy that I have traced worldwide is held by National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, and is kept together with a "Bombay" copy of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* (shelfmark 597(261:678.1)), which was presented by Günther to the library in 1870 (see Figure 11). Since the catalogue entry for *The Fishes of Zanzibar* reads only "xiv, 153 p. : ill., xxi pl. (6 col., incl. front.)", which is closely similar to descriptions of the complete volume in many other library catalogues, this entry seems to be an example of "copy-cataloguing" (see Williams, 2012: 82). The volume of extra plates shelved with it was therefore only discovered quite by accident during the present research. It is not listed anywhere in the catalogue and its provenance is unknown. Hence, its distinction from the regular volume has long been overlooked.

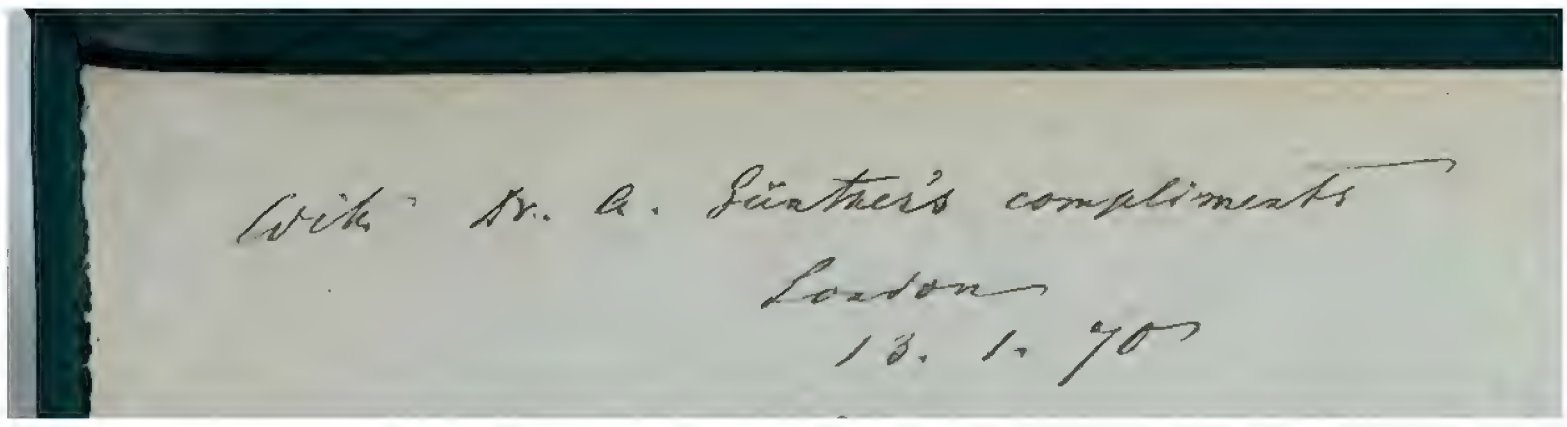

Figure 11. Günther's 1870 inscription in his presentation copy of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* to the library of National Museums Scotland. By kind permission of National Museums Scotland [02AF161].

The contents comprise a complete set of the 21 plates in numerical order; all uncoloured, without any text or conventional title-page. All are contained within thin card boards, quarter-bound with green diagonal wave cloth (Krupp Wav3), covered with paper that extends over the whole of the boards, thus concealing the extension of the cloth spine onto the boards (Figure 12). The thin end papers are of the same colour as the plates. The boards and the plates are cut flush and measure 12.4 × 9.8 inches (315 × 250 mm), slightly shorter than, but as wide as, those of the plates in complete volumes (12¾ × 9¾ inches; 324 × 248 mm). The plates appear to have been hand-sewn (Figure 13), grouped in two batches *en bloc*, similarly to those machine-sewn in later cases of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* (Figure 10).

THE

FISHES OF ZANZIBAR:

ACANTHOPTERYGII

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL R. LAMBERT PLAYFAIR,

HER MAJESTY'S POLITICAL AGENT AND CONSUL AT ZANZIBAR;

AND

PHARYNGOGNATHI, ETC.,

BY

ALBERT C. L. G. GÜNTHER, M.A., Ph.D., M.D.

[PLATES.]

LONDON:

JOHN VAN VOORST, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXVII.

Figure 12. The front board of the separate volume of plates for *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. By kind permission of National Museums Scotland [597(261:678.1)].

The only letterpress is on the paper covering the front board, of the usual beige colour that Van Voorst used for works issued serially in parts. It thus serves as a title-page and reads (in quasi-facsimile):

Figure 13. The uneven sewing, apparently by hand, between plates 11 and 12 of the separate volume of plates depicted in Figure 12. Note that plate 12 is plain in this set, but is coloured in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. By kind permission of National Museums Scotland [597(261:678.1)].

THE | FISHES OF ZANZIBAR: | ACANTHOPTERYGII | BY | LIEUT.-COLONEL R. LAMBERT PLAYFAIR, | HER MAJESTY'S POLITICAL AGENT AND CONSUL AT ZANZIBAR ; | AND | PHARYNGOGNATHI, ETC., | BY | ALBERT C. L. G. GÜNTHER, M.A., Ph.D., M.D. | [PLATES.] |LONDON : | JOHN VAN VOORST, PATERNOSTER ROW. | MDCCCLXVII.

It may be seen that there are minor differences in punctuation between the title of this supplement and that of the original volume (Playfair & Günther, 1867 [1866]), but the only significant difference in wording is the inclusion of the word "[Plates]" after the title; and most importantly, it is dated 1867 (Figure 12).

It is not known how many copies of this volume might have been produced. Indeed, it is impossible to be certain whether it was a publication[15] or whether Van Voorst perhaps provided a limited number of working copies for Playfair and Gunther to use for later research. Its worn state certainly suggests considerable usage. However, since it lacks any text, its actual purpose is not obvious. There are no manuscript annotations, and the lithographs are not printed on India paper. It seemed likely that, if any other copies exist, they might be found among the archived papers of Playfair or Günther, which were therefore searched. However, no further copies could be traced among the Playfair family papers at the University of St Andrews (pers. comm., Miriam Buncombe, 11 September 2025) or Günther's papers at the Natural History Museum, London (pers. comm., Grace Touzel, 8 September 2025).

Discovery of a photograph album of Zanzibar fishes

An album of photographs held in the library of the University of St Andrews[16] may have contributed to the species descriptions in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. However, the only reference to photography in the book refers to *Histiophorus brevirostris* sp. n., on page 54, where it is stated, "A single specimen of this fish was obtained by Colonel Playfair at Zanzibar as he was

[15] The similarity of the printed front cover to the wrappers in which Van Voorst issued books that he published in parts suggests so, but the known existence of but a single example is inconclusive.

[16] See " 'Photographs of Zanzibar fishes'. 1860s. University of St Andrews. Papers of Robert Lambert Playfair and other Playfair family members. University of St Andrews Archives" (ms38502).

on the point of leaving that island for a few weeks; it was hurriedly stuffed and photographed before his departure; and it is from this photograph that the figure is taken. Unfortunately, during his absence the specimen was destroyed". Although there is a photograph of *Histiophorus brevirostris* on Plate R of the album, unlike the other species, it is not associated with a specimen number, which is probably explained by its known destruction.

Almost all of the photographs in the album are captioned with the species name followed by a number (or numbers) in square brackets. The same convention appears in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, in which the Preface explains that "The numbers in brackets which follow the specific names are those originally attached to the specimens in Lieut. Colonel Playfair's collection" (p. v). Thus, the opportunity was taken to establish without doubt whether the photograph album played a vital part in preparing the text of the published volume. The complex results of the investigation are summarized in the Appendix, from which it is concluded that the photographs indeed represent many of the actual specimens employed in writing the book.

PUBLISHING HISTORY

The Fishes of Zanzibar was published by the renowned London publisher John Van Voorst (1804–1898) (see Williams, 2004), which must have been a highly prestigious commission. However, neither Playfair nor Günther had published anything with Van Voorst before (nor afterwards). How they came to work together is mainly conjectural, therefore. No apparent social connection between Van Voorst and Playfair has emerged, but Günther and Van Voorst would certainly have known each other well enough, through the Zoological Society of London. Since Günther published much in the society's journals, he would have been familiar with the professional status and scientific knowledge of Van Voorst,[17] making him an ideal choice of publisher for such an important, specialized work. After its publication, however, Playfair's interests became redirected from natural history to the archaeology, history and topography of the localities of his various diplomatic postings, whilst Günther continued with the heavy workload involved in writing his monumental *Catalogue of the Fishes in the British Museum*, then in course of publication (Günther, 1859–1870).

Most of the plates of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* are by George Henry Ford (1808–1876), who was born on a farm in South Africa and sustained a permanent spinal injury when a child. Soon afterwards, in 1821, the military medical-man and naturalist Sir Andrew Smith (1797–1872), happening to visit the Fords' farm, observed the boy's suffering and offered to take him to Cape Town for treatment and rehabilitation. During that time Smith persuaded him to draw some of his zoological specimens and discovered him to be a remarkably talented artist. This led to Smith's recommending Ford in 1825 for employment in the Museum at Cape Town and in 1834 he appointed him as artist to his Expedition for Exploring Central Africa, which terminated in 1836.

When Smith returned to London in 1837, Ford accompanied him, and soon found employment with John Edward Gray (1800–1875) at the British Museum. Eventually, because of his continually painful spinal condition, he was invited to work in more comfortable surroundings at the home of Günther, who had arrived from Tübingen in 1857, and the two became firm friends (see Gunther, 1972: 139). When Günther was working on *The Fishes of Zanzibar* in the mid-1860s, this arrangement facilitated that essential co-operation necessary between artist and scientist during execution of plates, of which these were considered to be among the best of Ford's works (Gunther, 1972: 140).

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[17] As evidenced by Van Voorst's membership of the Committee of Publication for the Zoological Society (see *Morning Post*, 1 May 1849, p. [6]).

In 1866, Joseph Smit of Leyden arrived in London, where he soon met Joseph Wolf (1820–1899), who became his friend and mentor (Skipwith, 1979: 124). It is not known, however, how Smit came to be involved with illustrating *The Fishes of Zanzibar* so soon after his arrival, and, moreover, quickly enough for him to prepare three plates before its imminent publication. These ichthyological drawings are unusual for Smit, since he is best known for his lithographs of birds and, later, of mammals also. It therefore seems, based upon Wolf's known circle of artists and scientists, which is notably lacking in ichthyologists (Palmer, 1895), that he would have been a somewhat unlikely link between Smit and Playfair or Günther.

It is possible, though, that Smit's introduction to Günther might have been facilitated by Philip Lutley Sclater (1829–1913) of the Zoological Society, who had already been in contact with Smit in Leyden, having suggested his moving to London (Skipwith, 1979: 124), and also knew Günther very well (McIntosh, 1915: xiv). Unfortunately, Gunther (1971: 29) accidentally produced a further twist in this history by introducing a "G. Smith". Whilst the initial "G." no doubt perpetuates West's error on the plates, the substitution of "Smith" for "Smit" appears to be a different *lapsus calami*, by Gunther himself, perhaps because of the name's close proximity in the text to the mention of Sir Andrew Smith, Ford's early mentor (Gunther, 1971: 29–30).

Ford's beautiful illustrations are, of course, of great interest in themselves, but they possibly also provide a plausible reason for the delayed publication of the book. Each plate has at the bottom the words "London, John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row.", followed by a year. On seventeen of the plates, the stated year is 1866, but on the remaining four (VI, XIII–XV) it is 1867 (see, for instance, Figure 14), indicating that *The Fishes of Zanzibar* could not have been published in 1866. Significantly, all four plates dated 1867 are hand-coloured (Table 3), suggesting that the book's late publication might have been caused by delays in their colouring, although the other two coloured plates are dated 1866. This notion is supported by Gunther's comments on Playfair's letters in late 1866: "After his return from Germany, Playfair's letters are concerned with details about the coming publication. He is hoping to get a coloured proof of the beautiful *Coris Frerei*, the frontispiece …" (Gunther, 1971: 28). However, since this lithograph is dated 1867, it appears that Playfair was not able to obtain the desired proof copy of plate XIII before publication of the completed volume.

The Fishes of Zanzibar has always been considered to be quite a rare book, but the total number of copies published is uncertain, since no list of subscribers seems to be known. Using a combination of Library Hub Discover, WORLDCAT, OCLC and individual library catalogues, supplemented by volumes known in private hands and in the antiquarian book trade, I have traced 67 copies worldwide. In some cases, I was able to glean further details; 16 of them are in the primary "Bombay" casing (Figure 8), three are in a secondary casing (Figure 9) and one other is in a different secondary casing. Playfair's friend from his Indian diplomatic days, Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bombay, promised that the "Government would guarantee the finance of one hundred copies, and so make an independent publication and adequate illustration possible" (Gunther, 1971: *26*). The placing of the superb plate XIII of *Coris frerei* Günther as the frontispiece (Figure 15) is seemingly, therefore, no mere coincidence, and explains Playfair's anxiousness to speedily obtain a coloured proof.

It seems that Frere's guarantee was not without conditions, however. On 26 July 1866, Playfair wrote from St Andrews, Scotland, to Günther, "I have just received two letters from Government, the first authorizing me to purchase in this country materials for making a good collection of fish *for them* [my italics], namely bottles, spirits, etc. and the other asking me how I would propose that the 100 copies of our book should be distributed" (Gunther, 1971: 26).

Figure 14. Plate XV, fig. 2, *Pseudoscarus nigripinnis* Günther of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

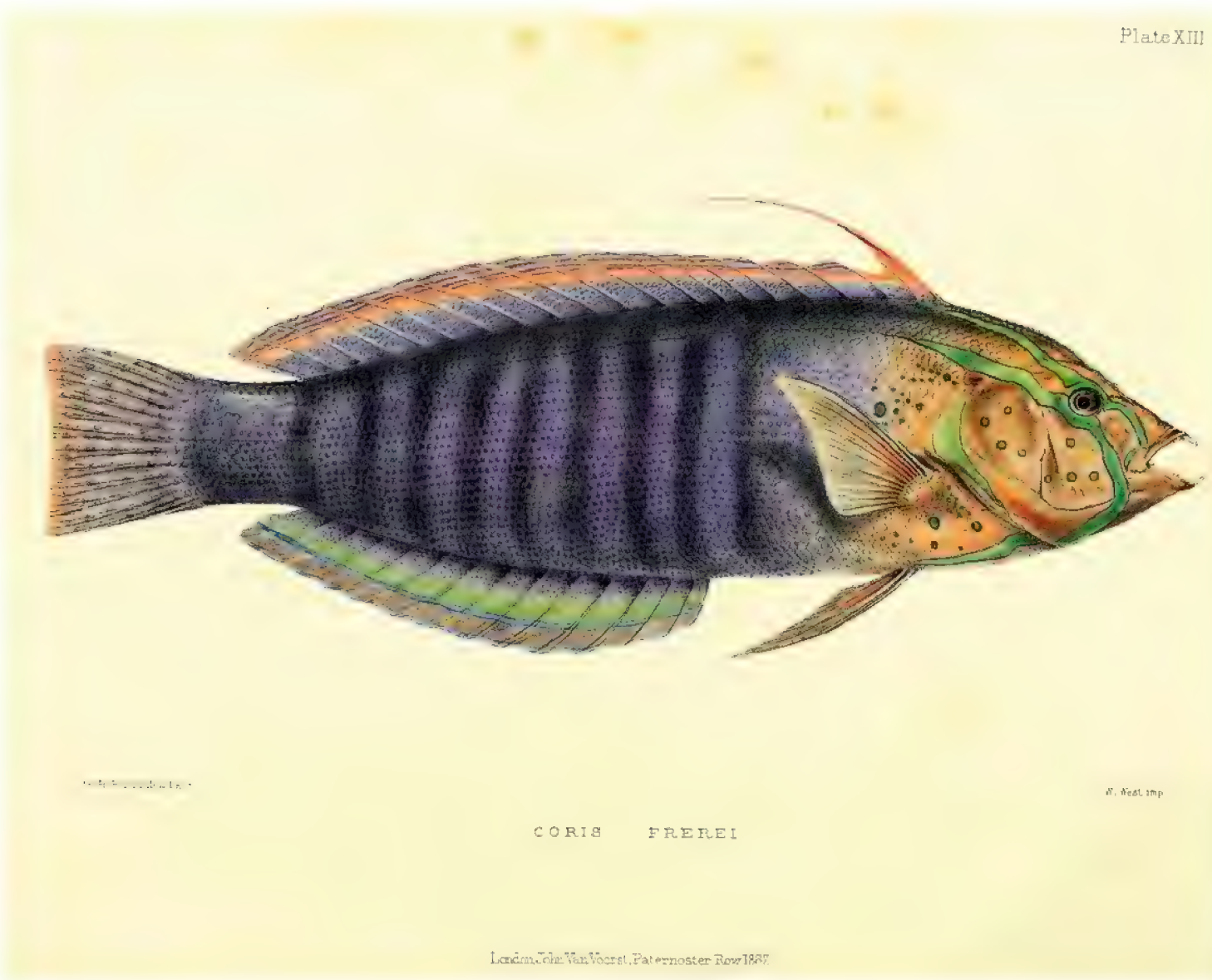
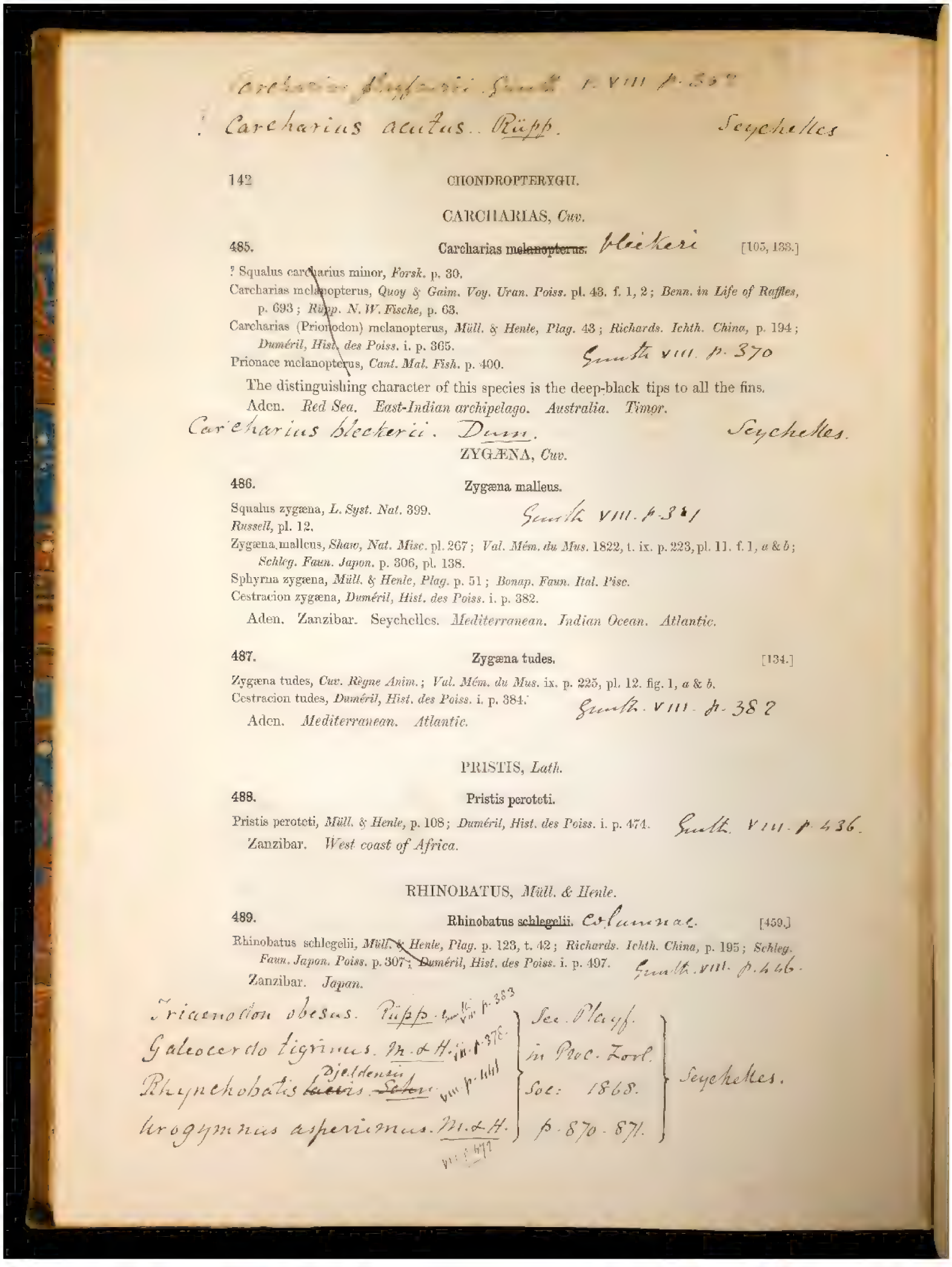


Figure 15. Plate XIII, *Coris frerei* Günther, usually the frontispiece of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.



142 CHONDROPTERYGII.

CARCHARIAS, *Cuv.*

485. Carcharias ~~melanopterus.~~ bleekeri [105, 133.]

? Squalus carcharius minor, *Forsk.* p. 30.
Carcharias melanopterus, *Quoy & Gaim. Voy. Uran. Poiss.* pl. 43. f. 1, 2; *Benn. in Life of Raffles,* p. 693; *Rüpp. N. W. Fische,* p. 63.
Carcharias (Prionodon) melanopterus, *Müll. & Henle, Plag.* 43; *Richards. Ichth. China,* p. 194; *Duméril, Hist. des Poiss.* i. p. 365.
Prionace melanopterus, *Cant. Mal. Fish.* p. 400.

The distinguishing character of this species is the deep-black tips to all the fins.
Aden. *Red Sea. East-Indian archipelago. Australia. Timor.*

ZYGÆNA, *Cuv.*

486. Zygæna malleus.

Squalus zygæna, *L. Syst. Nat.* 399.
Russell, pl. 12.
Zygæna malleus, *Shaw, Nat. Misc.* pl. 267; *Val. Mém. du Mus.* 1822, t. ix. p. 223, pl. 11. f. 1, *a* & *b*; *Schleg. Faun. Japon.* p. 306, pl. 138.
Sphyrna zygæna, *Müll. & Henle, Plag.* p. 51; *Bonap. Faun. Ital. Pisc.*
Cestracion zygæna, *Duméril, Hist. des Poiss.* i. p. 382.

Aden. Zanzibar. Seychelles. *Mediterranean. Indian Ocean. Atlantic.*

487. Zygæna tudes. [134.]

Zygæna tudes, *Cuv. Règne Anim.*; *Val. Mém. du Mus.* ix. p. 225, pl. 12. fig. 1, *a* & *b*.
Cestracion tudes, *Duméril, Hist. des Poiss.* i. p. 384.

Aden. *Mediterranean. Atlantic.*

PRISTIS, *Lath.*

488. Pristis peroteti.

Pristis peroteti, *Müll. & Henle,* p. 108; *Duméril, Hist. des Poiss.* i. p. 474.

Zanzibar. *West coast of Africa.*

RHINOBATUS, *Müll. & Henle.*

489. Rhinobatus ~~schlegelii.~~ columnae. [459.]

Rhinobatus schlegelii, *Müll. & Henle, Plag.* p. 123, t. 42; *Richards. Ichth. China,* p. 195; *Schleg. Faun. Japon. Poiss.* p. 307; *Duméril, Hist. des Poiss.* i. p. 497.

Zanzibar. *Japan.*

Triaenodon obesus. Rüpp. Seychelles. Playf. in Proc. Zool. Soc. 1868. p. 870-871.
Galeocerdo tigrinus. M. & H. Seychelles.
Rhynchobatis djeddensis. Schn. Seychelles.
Urogymnus asperrimus. M. & H. Seychelles.

Figure 16. Annotations on p. 142 of Playfair's own copy of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums [rf QL635.Z2P7G9].

This statement has on occasion been taken to be proof that only 100 copies were ever published. The variant publisher's casings suggest otherwise, however. It appears that not all of the "Bombay" copies were immediately allocated, since several of the copies examined bear no presentation or ownership inscriptions, nor any stated price. If the existence of secondary bindings might indicate that all of the 100 "Bombay" copies had been presented or sold, that would probably have been after 1870, when Günther presented a "Bombay" copy to National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh (Figure 11). Moreover, a much later bookseller's catalogue by Grant (1903: 8), advertised remainder copies at the greatly reduced price of 16*s*. 6*d*. (published at £3 3*s*.).[18]

The separate volume of uncoloured plates (Playfair & Günther, 1867) described herein, issued after the main work, appears to be entirely unknown hitherto; Van Voorst apparently never advertised it for sale. Its purpose is unclear, since all the plates are uncoloured and have no accompanying text. A comprehensive search of worldwide library catalogues has failed to trace any other copy.

ADDITIONAL EAST AFRICAN ICHTHYOFAUNAL STUDIES

Even after publication of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, the authors continued research for some time on the fishes found around Zanzibar and other islands off the east African coastline, discovering yet more new species, and others not previously known from those areas (Playfair, 1868 [1867], 1868; Günther, 1868b, 1869, 1871; Playfair & Günther, 1869). Playfair's further work also led to necessary corrections of previous misidentifications in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*, which he recorded in manuscript in his own custom-bound copy of the book (see Figure 16); they apparently remain unpublished.

This heavily annotated copy is held by the University of St Andrews among the Playfair family papers.[19] Amongst several cuttings of articles tipped-in to this volume is a photograph of *Ginglymostoma brevicaudatum* Günther, pasted to the recto of the rear free end-paper. In publisher's copies, it is described (specimen 710) on p. 141 and illustrated on pl. XXI. The photograph is not one of those included in the photograph album of Zanzibar fishes (see previously).

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I am extremely grateful to Andrew McDougall and Morven Donald (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh) for their careful examinations of the separate volume of plates in answer to my many questions. I also thank Lauren Williams (Blacker Wood Natural History Collection, McGill University Libraries), who kindly searched for the now apparently lost copy of *The Fishes of Zanzibar* and manuscripts described by Casey Wood. I am also grateful to Darren Ball of Dominic Winter (Auctioneers) Ltd for permission to reproduce the inscription in Figure 7; to Fuchsia Voremberg and Euphemia Franklin of Maggs Brothers Ltd for

[18] The style of casing of the remainders is unspecified; the separate "Plates" volume was not advertised therein (see Grant 1903: 8).

[19] QL635.Z2P7G9: Copy 1. Heavily annotated in ink, apparently by R. L. Playfair. All the plates are bound in numerical order at the end of the volume; none of them is coloured (pers. comm., Miriam Buncombe, 11 September 2025). Bound in half-calf, all edges sprinkled red. A circular lilac stamp on the title-page confirms ownership by "Col. Playfair, H.B.M.'s Consul General Algiers", the post he was transferred to from Zanzibar in 1867. Presented to the university by Mrs Ernest Playfair, 1918, his daughter-in-law, the wife of his youngest son, Dr Ernest Playfair (1871–1951).

bibliographical details of their copy; to Morven Donald (National Museums of Scotland) for Figures 11–13; to Matilde Zoppi and Miriam Buncombe (University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums) for bibliographical details and Figures 2, 3, 16 and 18; and to Janet Ashdown (Linnean Society of London) for her assessment of the execution of the leather binding of the presentation copy to Sir H. E. Bartle Frere. I thank Steven Gregory for his editorial forbearance throughout an exceptionally protracted refereeing process.

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APPENDIX: IDENTITIES OF ZANZIBAR SPECIMENS IN THE PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM COMPARED WITH THOSE RECORDED IN *THE FISHES OF ZANZIBAR*

Table 4. Specimen numbers of species listed in the unpublished photograph album correlated with those in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*.

	Photograph album numerals		***Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals**	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Aprion virescens	A.a	361	1	361
Anyperodon leucogrammicus	A.b	270	2	270
Serranus lanceolatus	A.c	567	11	567
Serranus louti	A.d	358	3	358
Serranus rogaa	A.e	289, 374	5	289, 374
Serranus erythraeus	B.a	427	6	427
Serranus miniatus	B.b	152	8	152
Serranus cyanostigmatoides	B.c	53	7	55
Serranus sonnerati	B.d	583	10	583
Serranus hemistictus	B.e	54	9	54
Serranus suillus	B.f	514	12	514, 742
Serranus dispar var. a	C.a	423	14	423
Serranus fuscoguttatus	C.b	410, 494	13	410, 494
Serranus dispar var. b	C.c	389	14	389
Serranus marginalis	C.d	53, 485	15	53, 485
Serranus hoevenii	C.e	396	18	396, 422, 600, 711
Serranus summana	C.f	265	16	265
Serranus hexagonatus	C.g	373, 709	19	373, 709
Serranus tumilabris	C.h	122	17	122
Serranus flavo-caeruleus	D.a	268, 269	21	268, 269
Serranus areolatus	D.b	159, 186	22	159, 186
Serranus cylindricus	D.c	373.A	23	373.A
Serranus striolatus	D.d	359	24	359
Serranus longispinis	D.e	556	20	556
Plectropoma maculatum var. a	E.a	316	25	316 (=*melanoleucum*)
[*Plectropoma maculatum* var. b]	Not shown	Not shown	25	316
Plectropoma maculatum var. d	E.b	444	25	444
[*Plectropoma maculatum* var. e]	Not shown	Not shown	25	444.b
Plectropoma maculatum var. c	E.c	474	25	474
Plectropoma maculatum var. f	E.d	566	25	566
Plectropoma maculatum var. g	E.e	421	25	421
Grammistes orientalis	E.f	431	26	431
Genyoroge sebae	E.g	97	28	97
Genyoroge macolor	E.h	360, 590	27	360, 590
Genyoroge bengalensis	F.a	28, 342	29	28, 342
Genyoroge notata	F.b	235	30	235
Genyoroge rivulata	F.c	87	33	87

	Photograph album numerals		*Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Genyoroge bottonensis	F.d	337, 632	32	337, 632
Mesoprion bohar	F.e	326, 366	34	326, 366
Mesoprion lineolatus	F.f	486	38	486
Mesoprion fulviflamma	F.g	29	36	29
Mesoprion caeruleo-lineatus	F.h	21	40	21
Mesoprion vitta	G.a	704	39	704
Mesoprion annularis	G.b	271	37	271
Priacanthus blochii	G.c	58, 678	41	58, 678
Ambassis commersonii	G.d	502, 653	43	502, 653
Apogon bifasciatus	G.e	480	51	480
Apogon annularis	G.f	237	52	237
Apogon macropteroides	G.g	573	55	307, 573, 622
Apogon fasciatus	G.h	202	53	202
Chilodipterus lineatus	G.i	44, 581	58	44, 581
Dules fuscus	G.j	123	60	339
Priacanthus hamruhr	G.k	267	42	267
Therapon theraps	G.l	263	61	263
Therapon servus	H.a	89	62	89
Therapon trivittatus	H.b	475	63	475
Therapon cuvieri	H.c	27	64	27, 283
Pristipoma hasta	H.d	651	65	651.A
Pristipoma multimaculatum	H.e	652	66	652
Pristipoma operculare	H.f	69	67	69
Diagramma griseum var. a	H.g	565	71	16
Diagramma griseum var. b	H.h	16, 330, 565	71	330, 565
Diagramma affine	H.i	659	70	659
Diagramma pertusum	I.a	532	72	532
Diagramma gaterina	I.b	22	74	22
Diagramma centurio	I.c	701	73	701
Diagramma punctatum	I.d	84	75	17, 84, 528
Diagramma blochii young	I.e	248	78	248
Diagramma blochii adult	I.f	636	78	636
Pristipoma stridens	I.g	20	69	20
Diagramma lessonii	J.a	11, 531	77	11, 531
Diagramma sebae	J.b	615, 618	—	Not included
Scolopsis japonicus	J.c	4	81	4
Scolopsis torquatus	J.d	194	83	194
Scolopsis nototaenia	J.e	113	82	113
Scolopsis bimaculatus	J.f	520	84	520
Scolopsis ghanam	J.g	23	86	23, 404
Caesio lunaris	J.h	57	90	57
Scolopsis frenatus	J.i	424	85	424

	Photograph album numerals		*Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Synagris filamentosus	J.j	99, 183, 608	88	99, 183, 608
Lobotes auctorum	J.k	145	80	145
Chaetodon strigangulus	K.a	244	93	244
Chaetodon setifer	K.b	217	94	170
Chaetodon zanzibarensis	K.c	181	97	181
Chaetodon lineolatus	K.d	208	108	208
Chaetodon vittatus	K.e	236	—	Not included
Chaetodon kleinii	K.f	Not stated	99	139
Chaetodon setifer	K.g	170	94	170
Chaetodon melanopoma	K.h	129	107	129
Chaetodon vagabundus	K.i	7	103	7
Chaetodon leucopleura	K.j	511	109	511
Chaetodon unimaculatus	K.k	524	95	524
Chaetodon larvatus	K.l	6	110	6
Chaetodon melanopterus	K.m	5	101	5
Chaetodon xanthocephalus	L.a	625	111	625
Chaetodon lunula	L.b	538	102	538
Chaetodon fulcula	L.c	619	—	Not included
Chaetodon bennetti	L.d	561	96	561
Chaetodon zanzibarensis	L.e	181	97	181
Heniochus macrolepidotus	L.f	8	112	8
Holacanthus semicirculatus	M.a	599	118	599
Holacanthus chrysurus adult	M.b	348	120	348
Holacanthus alternans adult	M.c	196	119	196
Holacanthus alternans young	M.d	216	119	216
Holacanthus asfur	M.e	1	113	1
Holacanthus chrysurus young	M.f	52	120	52
Holacanthus multispinis	M.g	491	115	491
Holacanthus trimaculatus	M.h	473	116	473
[*Caesio*]	M.i	702	—	—
Drepane punctata	N.a	111	122	111
Scatophagus tetracanthus	N.b	649	121	649
Mullus tragula	N.c	19, 272, 675, 690	125	19, 272, 675, 690
Mullus luteus	N.d	51, 218, 367, 580	131	51, 218, 367, 850
Mullus micronemus	N.e	224, 454	127	224, 454
Mullus vittatus	N.f	60, 336	124	60, 336
Mullus dispilurus	N.g	335, 477	132	335, 477
Mullus malabaricus	N.h	25	129	25
Tripterodon orbis	O.a	626	134	626
Pentapus curtus	O.b	633	89	633
Lethrinus harak	O.c	613	138	613
Lethrinus longirostris	O.d	Not stated	137	364

	Photograph album numerals		*Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Lethrinus nebulosus	O.e	2, 31	140	2, 31
Lethrinus ramak	O.f	663	139	663
Chrysophrys sarba	O.g	543	142	543
Sargus rondeletii	O.h	166	135	166
Pagrus spinifer	O.i	362	141	362
Chrysophrys bifasciata	P.a	349	143	349
Pimelepterus tahmel	P.b	274	145	274
Cirrhites forsteri	P.c	571	146	571
Tetraroge binotata	P.d	329, 609	155	329, 609
Scorpaena zanzibarensis	P.e	400	150	400
Pterois lunulata	P.f	33	152	33
Pterois volitans	P.g	152	151	516
Scorpaena cirrhosa	P.h	34	148	34
Teuthis nebulosa	P.i	26	163	26
Teuthis corallina	P.j	703	160	703
Teuthis rostrata	Q.a	630	162	630
Teuthis stellata	Q.b	275, 488	161	275, 488
Naseus brevirostris	Q.c	195	185	195
Naseus brevirostris	Q.d	232	185	232
Naseus tuberosus	Q.e	368	186	368
Myripristis adustus	Q.f	191, 452	165	191, 452
Myripristis murdjan	Q.g	83, 207	164	83, 207
Holocentrum rubrum	Q.h	45, 67, 408	166	45, 67, 408
Holocentrum spiniferum	Q.i	648	167	648
Holocentrum sammara	Q.j	77, 453	169	77, 453
Pempheris sp. ?	R.a	277	Unidentified	277
Holocentrum diadema	R.b	127, 192	168	127, 192
Otolithus argenteus	R.c	90	174	90
Sciaena sina	R.d	143	173	143
Polynemus sexfilis	R.e	671	171	671
Histiophorus brevirostris	R.f	Not stated	175	682
Trichiurus haumela	R.g	188	176	188.A
Acanthurus triostegus	RII.a	338	177	338
Acanthurus matoides	RII.b	18, 575	178	18, 575
Acanthurus ctenodon	RII.c	493, 585	180	493, 585
Acanthurus leucosternon	RII.d	365	179	365
Acanthurus xanthurus	RII.e	116	182	116
Acanthurus rhombeus	RII.f	278	181	278
Acanthurus velifer	RII.g	9	183	9
Acanthurus desjardinii	RII.h	182	184	182
Naseus lituratus	S.a	668	187	668
Caranx hasseltii	S.b	699	190	699

	Photograph album numerals		*Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Caranx rottleri	S.c	98	188	92
Caranx vomerinus	S.d	696	192	696
Caranx bajad	S.e	117, 647	194	117, 647
Caranx malabaricus	S.f	697, 698	193	697, 698
Caranx hippos	S.g	118	198	118
Caranx speciosus	SII.a	47	195	47
Caranx armatus	SII.b	428	199	74, 681, 428
Caranx melampygus	SII.c	301	197	301
Caranx armatus	SII.d	681	199	74, 681, 428
Caranx ciliaris	SII.e	234	200	234
Caranx gallus	SII.f	110	201	110
Seriola nigrofasciata	SII.g	369	202	369
Chorinemus sanctipetri	SII.h	32, 167	206	32, 167
Chorinemus lysan	SII.i	639	205	639
Trachynotus ovatus	T.a	375	207	375
Psettus argenteus	T.b	119, 468	209	119, 468
Trachynotus baillonii	T.c	130, 131, 245	208	130, 131, 245
Equula edentula	T.d	61	213	61
Trachynotus baillonii adult	T.e	Not stated	208	130, 131, 245
Zanclus cornutus	T.f	309	212	309
Platax teira	T.g	85	211	85
Platax vespertilio	T.h	226	210	226, 376
Gazza equulaeformis	T.i	261	214	261
Scomber microlepidotus	U.a	70, 252	219	70, 252
Thynnus thunnina	U.b	430	220	430
Cybium commersonii	U.c	415	223	415
Elacate nigra	U.d	94	224	94
Mene maculata	U.e	66	217	66
Echeneis [remora]	U.f	Not stated	[225]	Not stated
Stromateus niger	U.g	650	215	650
Coryphaena hippurus	U.h	370	216	370
Percis punctulata	V.a	721	227	721
Percis polyophthalma	V.b	506	228	506
Percis xanthozona	V.c	447	230	447
Sillago sihama	V.d	Not stated	232	180
Percis pulchella	V.e	242	231	242
Percis hexophthalma	V.f	225	229	225
Ophisthognathus nigromarginatus	V.g	333	233	333
Gobius giuris	V.h	303	236	303, 504
Gobius caninus	V.i	371	239	371
Gobius albomaculatus	V.j	48	240	48, 401
Periophthalmus koelreuteri	V.k	426	245	426

	Photograph album numerals		*Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Eleotris [sp?]	V.l	Not stated	—	—
Gobius sewardii	V.m	446	241	446
Gobiosoma fasciatum	V.n	487	242	487
Eleotris fusca	V.o	559, 642	250	559, 642
Callionymus marmoratus female	W.a	295	254	295.F
Eleotris soaresi	W.b	405	251	405
Callionymus marmoratus male	W.c	295	254	295.M
Callionymus longicaudatus male	W.d	Not stated	253	620
Callionymus longicaudatus female	W.e	620, 674	253	674
Sphyraena jello	W.f	429	262	429
Sphyraena agam	W.g	707	264	707
Mugil caeruleomaculatus	X.a	Not stated	266	86, 341
Mugil caeruleomaculatus	X.b	86, 341	266	86, 341
Osphromenus olfax	X.c	420	273	420
Agonostoma telfairii	X.d	577	268	577
Fistularia serrata	X.e	98	269	98
Aulostoma chinense	X.f	603	270	603 A & B
Amphiprion bicinctus	XII.a	201, 343	274	201, 343
Dascyllus aruanus	XII.b	101	275	101
Dascyllus trimaculatus	XII.c	13, 485	276	13, 485
Dascyllus marginatus	XII.d	10, 344	277	10, 344
Pomacentrus obtusirostris	XII.e	638	280	638
Pomacentrus pavo	XII.f	264, 594	279	264, 594
Glyphidodon sordidus	XII.g	539	285	539
Glyphidodon coelestinus	XII.h	14, 212	284	14, 212
Glyphidodon melas	XII.i	184	288	184
Pomacentrus punctatus	XII.j	492	283	492
Glyphidodon sparoides	XII.k	50, 455	286	50, 455
Glyphidodon leucogaster	Y.a	Not stated	289	482
Glyphidodon melanopus	Y.b	540	287	540
Glyphidodon adenensis	Y.c	95	290	95
Comacentrus sp. ?	Y.d	484	Unidentified	484
Heliastes opercularis	Y.e	527	292	527
Pteragogus taeniops	Y.f	476	295	266, 476
Xiphochilus robustus	Y.g	667	293	667
Cossyphus diana	Y.h	409	298	229, 409
Cossyphus axillaris	Y.i	280	297	280
Cossyphus bilunulatus	Z.a	228	299	228
Cossyphus atrolumbus	Z.b	490	300	490
Cheilinus [sp?]	Z.c	Not stated	—	—
Cheilinus trilobatus	Z.d	Not stated	304	308, 558
Duymaeria filamentosa	Z.e	496	303	279, 495, 496

	Photograph album numerals		*Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Cheilinus mossambicus	Z.f	510	305	478, 510
Anampses meleagris	Z.g	634	315	634
Anampses diadematus	Z.h	254	317	254
Anampses meleagris	Z.i	356	315	356
Anampses caeruleopunctatus	Z.j	192A	314	192A
Epibulus insidiator	AA.a	258, 258A, 291	313	258, 258A, 291
Hemigymnus melanopterus	AA.b	533	319	533
Hemigymnus fasciatus	AA.c	257	318	257
Hemigymnus melanopterus	AA.d	193	319	193
Platyglossus hortulanus	AA.e	246	328	246
Platyglossus scapularis	AA.f	240	327	240, 354
Platyglossus hortulanus	AA.g	352	328	352
Platyglossus bimaculatus	AA.h	230	330	230
Novacula taeniurus	AA.i	256	332	214, 256, 560
Novacula punctulata	AA.j	441	336	441
Novacula aneitensis	AA.k	227	335	227
Julis lunaris	AA.l	80	337	80
Julis hebraica	AA.m	197	338	197
Novacula pavo	AA.n	683	334	683
Julis trilobata	BB.a	416	339	416
Gomphosus caeruleus	BB.b	185	341	185
Gomphosus varius	BB.c	572	342	572
Cheilio inermis	BB.d	Not stated	343	215, 221, 249, 290, 434, 442
Coris caudimacula	BB.e	281	347	281
Coris cuvieri	BB.f	255	344	282, 588
Coris annulata	BB.g	357	346	222, 294, 357, 664
Cymolutes praetextatus	BB.h	250	349	250, 440
Scarichthys auritus	BB.i	247	351	247
Callyodon virescens	BB.j	434.A	353	434.A, 544, 604
Coris cuvieri	BB.k	282	344	282, 588
Callyodon genistriatus	CC.a	582	354	542, 582
Not named	CC.b	Not stated	—	—
Not named	CC.c	Not stated	—	—
Pseudoscarus harid	CC.d	607	355	300, 607
Pseudoscarus javanicus	CC.e	537	356	537, 673
Pseudoscarus chloromelas	CC.f	617	370	617
Pseudoscarus cyanognathus	CC.g	662	367	523, 546, 662
Pseudoscarus rubroviolaceus	DD.a	547	362	547
Pseudoscarus nigripinnis	DD.b	670	359	438, 670
Pseudoscarus bataviensis	DD.c	536	363	189, 536
Pseudoscarus pentazona	DD.d	550	364	550
Pseudoscarus troscheli	DD.e	512	369	512

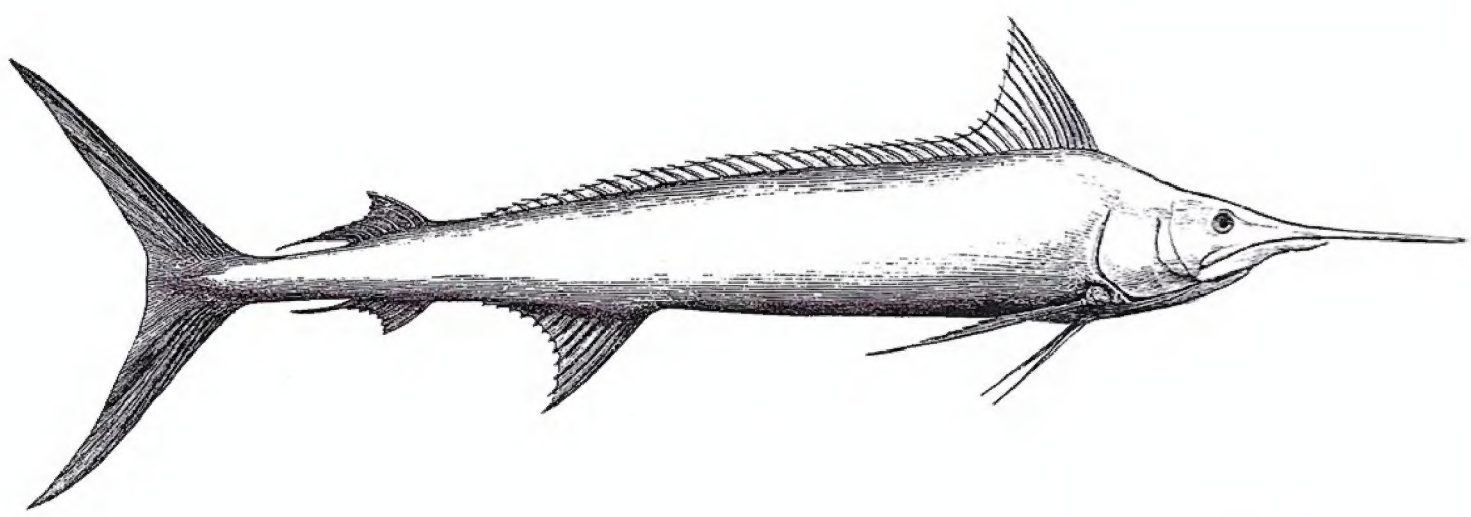
	Photograph album numerals		*Fishes of Zanzibar* numerals	
Species name	**Photograph keys**	**Specimen nos.**	**Species nos.**	**Specimen nos.**
Pseudoscarus troscheli	DD.f	509	369	509
Pseudoscarus troscheli	DD.g	522	369	522
Gerres acinaces	DD.h	46	371	46
Psettodes erumei	DD.i	433	376	433
Rhomboidichthys pantherinus	DD.j	220	378	108, 220, 693
Pseudorhombus russellii	DD.k	435	377	109, 435
Pardachirus marmoratus	EE.a	125	379	125
Plagusia marmorata	EE.b	448	380	448
Cynoglossus quadrilineatus	EE.c	43	381	43, 530
Unidentified	EE.d	233	—	—
Clarias gariepinus	EE.e	187	382	187
Synodontis gambiensis	EE.f	500	389	500
Bagrus bayad	EE.g	499	385	499
Arius falcarius	EE.h	501	387	501
Saurus varius	EE.i	231	390	231, 562
Saurus myops	FF.a	298	392	298
Butirinus glossodontus	FF.b	Not stated	410	239
Chirocentrus dorab	FF.c	372	409	372
Lutodeira chanos	FF.d	398	411	398
Elops cyprinoides	FF.e	169	413	169
Balistes frenatus	FF.f	88	457	88
Erythrodon niger	FF.g	28 [no 3rd digit]	455	286
Alosa chapra	FF.h	104	416	104, 656
Balistes armatus	FF.i	199	458	199, 346
Balistes aculeatus	FF.j	319	459	319
Balistes caerulescens	GG.a	432	456	432
Balistes rectangulus	GG.b	720	461	720
Balistes stellatus	GG.c	200	462	200
Monacanthus isogramma	GG.d	306	465	306
Monacanthus isogramma	GG.e	320	465	320 omitted
Balistes viridescens	GG.f	238	463	238
Monacanthus fronticinctus	GG.g	665	467	521, 665
Monacanthus pardalis	GG.h	190	466	190
Aleuteres nasicornis	GG.i	292	469	292
Aleuteres scriptus	HH.a	680	470	680
Trygon uarnak	HH.b [dorsal]	713	490	713
Trygon uarnak	HH.c [ventral]	713	490	713
Syngnathus biaculeatus	HH.d	40	479	40

This photograph album comprises, besides blank leaves at the beginning and end, 37 other leaves designated Plates A–Z [+R*II*, S*II*. X*II*], AA–HH, each with variable numbers of original photographs mounted on the recto. All the captions of photographs are in manuscript, and the final three leaves comprise a manuscript contents list. There is no printed text.

Since there is no explicit statement in *The Fishes of Zanzibar* referring to photography of specimens other than of *Histiophorus brevirostris*, it has not hitherto been known whether photography contributed significantly to the descriptions of species. However, since all of the photographed species are described in the published volume, the printed specimen numbers associated with each species were therefore compared with those for the corresponding species in the photograph album.

It was established that the 37 plates comprise a total of 325 photographs, most of which are of specimens with the same code numbers as those stated in *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Therein, 34 species list specimens not only of those photographed, but also additional ones. Based on information in Table 4, descriptions of only seven species in the book were apparently based on specimens other than those photographed for the album. However, the photograph of *Ginglymostoma brevicaudatum* Günther that is pasted into Playfair's copy of his book is additional to those in the album.

The relationship between the in-text wood-engraving of *Histiophorus brevirostris* and the photograph in the album (Plate R, fig. f) is particularly interesting. The engraving (Figure 17) is a mirror image of the photograph (Figure 18), so was apparently copied from it directly without the usual reversal of the image. Furthermore, the irregularities have been excluded and the outline has been idealized. It is not known whether the engraving is the work of Ford or Smit, or of somebody else.



	ft.	in.
Total length	10	4
Greatest height	1	8
Length of head	3	0
Length of produced part of jaw	1	1
Length of upper jaw from angle of mouth	2	4
Width between base of pectorals	0	10
Length of pectorals	1	11
Length of ventrals	0	9
Greatest height of dorsal	1	2
Length of caudal lobes	2	0

Figure 17. Unnumbered figure of *Histiophorus brevirostris* on page 54 of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Personal collection, R. B. Williams.

Figure 18. Plate R, including *Histiophorus brevirostris*, of the photograph album of *The Fishes of Zanzibar*. Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums [ms38502].

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